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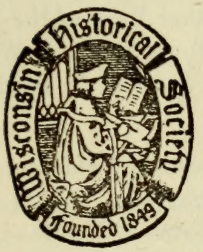

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. JOSEPH SCHAFER, Superintendent, MILO M. QUAIFE, Editor

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PEN AND INK DRAWING OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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THE COMPETITION OF THE NORTHWESTERN STATES FOR IMMIGRANTS

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Students of the American westward movement have devoted much attention to the geographical factors therein involved, to free land, routes of travel, methods of transportation, the motives of immigrants, and to similar phases of the subject. In studying the distribution of the immigrant tide, especially in the period after 1850, one must attempt to evaluate a factor of a somewhat different nature, namely, advertising. Descriptive letters from immigrants played a vital part in inducing others to make similar ventures. The force of such letters was powerfully supplemented by the efforts of the steamboat lines, land corporations, and railroad companies, alert to the commercial profit to be derived from immigrants. Railway competition for immigrant trade resulted in the development of comprehensive schemes for securing such patronage.[1] The purpose of this paper is to describe official state competition of a somewhat like nature.

To the railroad the capture of immigrant trade meant profitable traffic, the sale of railroad lands, the settlement of adjacent government land, and a labor supply, all of which spelled success for the company. What did immigrants mean to the new states of the Northwest? Dr. K. C. Babcock has pointed out that the real problem of the northwestern frontier after 1850 was "how to put more and ever more men of capacity, endurance, strength, and adaptability into the upper Mississippi and Red River valleys, men who first break up the prairie sod, clear the brush off the slopes, drain the marshes, build the railroads, and do the thousand and one

[1] Cf. Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 45-52 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908).

hard jobs incident to pioneer life, and then turn to the building of factories and towns and cities." [2] To the states of the Northwest the achievement of such ends meant greater wealth, exploitation of resources, larger assessments, the erection of public buildings, the establishment of public institutions, greater expenditures for state improvements,—in brief, prosperity and growth.

For any one of a half dozen or more states of the Middle West the difficult problem was how to attract the immigrants to settle within its particular boundaries. The whole Northwest is in fact really one great, rich province, no considerable section of which has preponderant advantages over the rest of the area. Aggressive and well-planned efforts seemed reasonably certain to draw the immigrant groups to the desired places of settlement. Most of the northwestern states, particularly after the Civil War, carried on comprehensive and ingenious campaigns in this direction, in the course of which they naturally came into competition with each other. Their efforts did more than to bring to their own state limits immigrants who would in any event have come west. They brought to America large numbers of immigrants who otherwise would probably not have left Europe. In fact these state activities constituted one cause, though perhaps a minor one, for the great swelling of the volume of immigration in the seventies and eighties, especially from Germany, Norway, and Sweden. The present study deals particularly with the activity of the state of Wisconsin, with some account of the work of neighboring states. Wisconsin took the lead and in most respects is typical of the whole group of northwestern states.

Wisconsin officially began the movement by establishing in 1852 the office of Commissioner of Emigration. The law

[2] *The Scandinavian Element in the United States,* 80 (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. III, no. 3, September, 1914).

provided that the commissioner was to reside in New York.[3] Gysbert Van Steenwyck received the appointment and took up his duties in New York on May 18, 1852. He at once opened an office and soon placed himself in touch with the various immigrant protective agencies, consuls, shipping houses, and the like. In his subsequent work he employed as assistants first a Norwegian, and later two Germans and an Englishman. Authorized to expend $1,250 for publications he had a large supply of pamphlets printed, which described the resources and opportunities offered the settler by Wisconsin. Twenty thousand of these pamphlets were printed in the German, five thousand in the Norwegian, and four thousand in the Dutch language. About five thousand were sent to Europe, and more than twenty thousand were distributed in New York, the latter being placed on vessels, in taverns and hotels, and given to immigrants personally. Advertisements were placed in English, German, and Dutch papers published in New York.

The Commissioner soon discovered that many agencies were engaged in exploiting the immigrant trade to the full. Competition was particularly spirited among the railroad agents. The New York and Erie, for example, tried to make the immigrants start for the interior immediately after their arrival, for fear of having them stop over and secure tickets elsewhere. When a ship docked, a hundred or more agents, runners, and pedlers were at hand to make prey of the immigrants. Van Steenwyck found that the forwarding agents favored Wisconsin because of the opportunity for high profits in overcharging for passengers and luggage to a region so far west.

The Commissioner wisely concluded that the pamphlets would be of more value distributed in Europe than in New York, for the immigrants after arrival were too busy to read.

[3] *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin*, 1852, chapter 432. The act carried with it an appropriation of $1,500 for the salary of the commissioner, $1,250 for the publication of pamphlets, $250 for office rent, $100 for maps, and $700 for assistance to the commissioner.

In his report he therefore urged that an agent of the state be sent to visit the chief points of departure in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland. He himself put advertisements in at least eight foreign newspapers, including the *Dorfzeitung, Schwaebische Merkur, Bremer Auswanderungzeitung, Koellnische Zeitung, Manheimer Journal,* and the Amsterdam *Handelsblad.* He reported that 7,389 persons left New York for Wisconsin during the summer and fall by way of the New York and Erie, the Hudson River Railroad, and the steamboat route. Four hundred thirty-six persons called at his office, most of whom were Germans, with a scattering of other nationalities.[4]

The office was continued for the year 1853, Herman Haertel, a German land agent of Milwaukee, being appointed to succeed Van Steenwyck.[5] During his year of service the work was carried on more ambitiously and with better results, partly because of the beginnings made the year before. Newspaper space was again bought in both foreign and New York papers; among the foreign are to be noted especially the London *Times,* Tipperary *Free Press, Baseler Zeitung,* and *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung.* Mr. Haertel contributed a series of articles to the New York *Tribune* on the railroads of Wisconsin. Thirty thousand pamphlets were distributed during the year, one-half of these being sent to Europe.[6] Over three hundred letters of inquiry from Europe and America were answered. The Commissioner's office was visited by about three thousand persons, two thousand of whom had just arrived from Europe. Of all who called for information, two-thirds were Germans, the rest being mainly Norwegians, Swedes, Irish, English,

[4] This account is based upon *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration,* for 1852, 1-16.

[5] *General Acts of Wisconsin,* 1853, chapter 53.

[6] The United States consul at Bremen at this time was a Wisconsin man, Dr. Hildebrandt of Mineral Point. He gave Haertel considerable assistance in the matter of circulating information.

Scotch, and Hollanders. That people in Wisconsin took cognizance of the existence of a state commissioner in New York is evidenced by the fact that during the year Mr. Haertel received in sums ranging from five to twenty dollars about three thousand dollars from residents of the state to be given to relatives to help them to complete the journey. Many of the immigrants, however, and particularly the Germans possessed ample means. In one ship, for example, a party of one hundred twenty Germans had in all nearly sixty thousand dollars in their possession, an average of five hundred dollars each. Mr. Haertel estimated that during the year 1853 the emigration to Wisconsin was approximately as follows:

From Germany	16,000 to 18,000
From Ireland	4,000 to 5,000
From Norway	3,000 to 4,000
Other countries	2,000 to 3,000

He made the claim in his report that while the entire immigration to the United States increased little, if any, Wisconsin during 1853 received fifteen per cent more than in the previous year.[7]

The agent of the state encountered considerable opposition and maintains in his report that as a result of jealousy he was being attacked both officially and personally. The situation in New York was such as to breed jealousy; it is thus described in the Commissioner's report, "For years past, emigrants, especially those landing in New York, have been systematically plundered, for which shameless wrong not only the hireling sub-agents, runners, etc., are responsible,

[7] The total immigration to the United States in 1853 was in fact less than the total for 1852. The exact numbers are: 1852—371,603; 1853—368,645. The total German immigration in 1852 was 145,918; in 1853, 141,946. See the chart on immigration to the United States accompanying Jenks, J. W. and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1917, fourth edition).

but especially those who retain these unprincipled subjects in their employ." [8]

The attention of the state legislature was not confined to inducing only foreigners to come west. In 1853 a law was passed in Wisconsin authorizing the governor to appoint an agent "whose duty it shall be to travel constantly between this state and the city of New York, from the first day of May next to the first day of December next, and see that correct representations be made in eastern papers of our great natural resources, advantages, and privileges, and brilliant prospects for the future; and to use every honorable means in his power to induce emigrants to come to this state." [9] Thomas J. Townsend, appointed to this position at a salary of $1,500, took his instructions literally. During 1853 he traveled forty-two thousand miles and visited every important city in the northern states and in eastern Canada and nearly every village in New York and New England.[10] He inserted Wisconsin notices in over nine hundred newspapers. In a brief report of his activities he asserts that when he began his work he found a prejudice against Wisconsin throughout all the East. He complacently sums up the results of his efforts by saying, "While no western state

[8] This account of the activity of Commissioner Haertel is based mainly upon *Annual Report of the Emigration Commissioner of the State of Wisconsin for the year 1853,* 1-15. A letter from Haertel to Governor Farwell, dated New York, June 30, 1853, gives an account of his work during May and June. This letter is to be found in manuscript in box 123, vault of the Governor's office, state capitol. In the same file is an interesting undated report from Haertel which describes the various kinds of impositions practiced upon immigrants in New York by unscrupulous agents. Cf. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration,* 219-226. After describing the mistreatment accorded arriving immigrants, Mr. Mayo-Smith says, "These evils continued until 1855, when Castle Garden was made the landing-place for all immigrants, and they could there be protected against sharpers." (p. 219) The Board of Emigration Commissioners of the State of New York, established in 1847, was concerned primarily with the problems connected with the arrival of immigrants at New York City.

[9] *General Acts of Wisconsin,* 1853, chapter 56.

[10] *Report of the Traveling Emigrant Agent of the State of Wisconsin for the year 1853,* 3-4.

had a worse reputation than ours last spring, no one had a better reputation last fall." [11]

Mr. Haertel very properly criticized in his annual report for 1853 the plan of a yearly reëlection of the commissioner of emigration by a joint ballot of the two houses of the legislature.[12] But he also served only one season, being replaced by Frederick W. Horn of Ozaukee County. During 1854 Mr. Horn established a branch office at Quebec. Elias Stangeland was appointed agent at Quebec for six months beginning May 1, 1854. The majority of the immigrants who came by way of Quebec were English, Irish, and Norwegian. In the spring of 1854 up to June 20 about two thousand Norwegians arrived at Quebec, most of them destined for Wisconsin. Though Commissioner Horn regarded the Quebec agency successful, lack of funds caused its discontinuance at the end of the six months. The chief efforts were naturally confined to New York. Mr. Horn estimated that in May, June, and July, 1854, not less than sixteen thousand Germans left New York for Wisconsin and he was of the opinion that the immigration for the fall months would be correspondingly high.[13]

[11] *Ibid.*, 4. He adds the significant statement, however, that Wisconsin had a good crop that fall, and its railroad building projects were being carried forward vigorously. One is inclined to take his assertions with a grain of salt.

[12] *Annual Report of the Emigration Commissioner . . . for 1853*, 13. See *General Acts of Wisconsin*, 1853, chapter 34.

[13] The report of the third commissioner was never printed. It is to be found in manuscript in the Governor's vault, state capitol, box 123, and bears the date August 1, 1854. See also the commission issued to Mr. Horn, dated April 5, 1854 (Governor's vault, box 123). The report of August 1 gives an account of the various services rendered to immigrants by the commissioner, and states that a considerable amount of money was received from Wisconsin to be given to immigrants. Mr. Horn estimated that of those who left New York for Wisconsin about one-half remained in or near Chicago. The work of Commissioner Horn is discussed in K. A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," 301, 320 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. XII); and Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, I, 477 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909). The earlier German immigration reached its highest point in 1854, with a total of 215,009. With the exception of 1882, this was the largest figure German immigration ever reached in one year. The total in 1882 was 250,630. Jenks and Lauck, *op. cit.*, supplement.

Some political opposition had developed toward the office of the commissioner and despite the favorable report of a select committee of the legislature, which in 1854 strongly urged the continuation of the office,[14] the acts of 1855 provided for the repeal of every preceding measure relating to emigrant agencies.[15] Though political influences account in part for the repeal, domestic problems naturally diverted interest from the subject of immigration very considerably in the later fifties and during the Civil War. Furthermore, the year 1855 marks an abrupt decline in the total volume of immigration to the United States, considerably less than one-half as many immigrants arriving in 1855 as in 1854. The German immigration in 1855 was only one-third as great as that of the year before, dropping from 215,009 to 71,918. Not until 1866 did the figures for the annual arrivals of Germans mount over a hundred thousand again.[16] Wisconsin did not resume its immigration activities until 1867.

Other states of the Northwest had not been ignorant of what Wisconsin was doing to promote immigration in 1852, 1853, and 1854. The report of the first Wisconsin commissioner states that Iowa was planning to follow Wisconsin's example.[17] Iowa did in fact establish a commissioner in

[14] *Report of the Select Committee, to whom had been referred so much of the Message of His Excellency the Governor as relates to the Subject of the Commissioner of Emigration.* (Appendix to Senate Journal, 1854.)

[15] *General Acts of Wisconsin,* 1855, chapter 3. The New York office was closed on April 20, 1855. See Horn to Governor Barstow, May, 1855 (Governor's vault, box 123).

[16] Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem,* supplement. In the immigration papers in the governor's vault (box 123) is a letter from L. B. Brainerd to Governor Salomon, June 16, 1862. This is accompanied by a paper by Rasmus Sorenson of Waupaca County, entitled "What Individual Enterprise has done in the Way of Emigrant Agency in Denmark." Sorenson went to Denmark in August, 1861. He lectured extensively on America, the war, and Wisconsin. He received so many letters of inquiry that he decided to print a small pamphlet on Wisconsin. He asserts that a minister of the Danish Government proposed to him that the Government of Denmark purchase tracts of land in Wisconsin to be parceled out to Danish emigrants in tracts of eighty acres, the emigrants to pay for the land later. Nothing came of this, but at any rate one hundred fifty Danes accompanied Sorenson when he returned to Wisconsin.

[17] *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration for 1852,* 11.

New York in 1860, but the office was abolished two years later, and the work was then dropped until 1870 when it was renewed upon a much larger scale.[18] Minnesota did not establish an office of Commissioner of Immigration until 1864,[19] and did not begin the work ambitiously until three years later,[20] but it is interesting to note that the first state legislature of Minnesota appropriated a sum of money for the purpose of advertising the state by means of a descriptive pamphlet.[21] It was not until after the Civil War, however, that these northwestern states entered into active competition with each other in the matter of securing the immigrant settlers.

In 1867 Wisconsin established a Board of Immigration, composed of the governor, secretary of state, and six others.[22] These members served without compensation, and the board was given an appropriation of $2,000 to meet expenses. The governor was authorized also to appoint a committee of three in each county of the state to assist the board. These county committees were to secure lists of friends and relatives of residents of their respective counties, and the names thus received constituted a mailing list for the board.[23] As a result of this arrangement many pamphlets were sent directly to individuals in the East and in Europe. The chief work of the board during the period 1867-70 related to the publication and distribution of pamphlets. These were prepared in the English, German, French, Welsh, Dutch, Norwegian, and Swedish languages. In 1868 the membership of the board was expanded to eight, and the appropriation increased

[18] *Laws of Iowa*, 1860, chapter 81; 1862, chapter 11.

[19] *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1864, chapter XIX. The office was held by the secretary of state. A prize contest was held for the best essay on Minnesota. Pamphlets were printed in English and German and their distribution attended to by district committees in the state. *Executive Documents of the State of Minnesota*, 1864, pp. 81-85.

[20] See below, p. 20.

[21] *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1858, 102-103.

[22] *General Laws of Wisconsin*, 1867, chapter 126.

[23] *Ibid.*

to $3,000.[24] In the following year an immigrant agent for the state was appointed to direct the work of the board. Two local agents, one in Milwaukee and the other in Chicago, were employed for four months in the year to assist immigrants.[25] How far the state was willing to go in the matter of assistance to immigrants is given an interesting illustration by the following words of the act of 1869: "The board of immigration shall have power to aid with such sums as it may think proper, either through the local agents or otherwise, such immigrants as are determined to make Wisconsin their future home, for the purpose of assisting them in reaching their place of destination, and the board shall be authorized, if possible, to arrange with railroad companies for transportation of immigrants at half fare." [26] In 1870 the governor was authorized to appoint an agent in New York, but as no compensation was offered, nothing came of it.[27]

In the competition for immigrant settlement railroad companies, land concerns, states, counties, and other agencies printed and distributed hundreds of thousands of pamphlets. Many of these overdrew the picture, describing a veritable El Dorado for the benefit of prospective settlers who in responding to the lure of America were perhaps naturally too sanguine. Often their hopes went unrealized, especially in the beginning. On the other hand, the states of the Northwest did fairly offer golden opportunities to settlers, and the great majority of the immigrants after a few years of effort achieved a success and a measure of prosperity which fully justified their faith. The states were on the whole honorable in their methods and probably presented more accurate pictures of their advantages than did the private agencies.

That Wisconsin stood particularly high with respect to the character of its publications is due largely to Dr. Increase

[24] *General Laws of Wisconsin,* 1868, chapters 120, 171.
[25] *General Laws of Wisconsin,* 1869, chapter 118.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *General Laws of Wisconsin,* 1870, chapter 50.

Allen Lapham, the eminent Wisconsin scientist, who fortunately was able to base what he wrote upon a scholarly understanding of the natural resources of the state.[28] As early as 1844 Dr. Lapham published a valuable little book called *A Geographical and Topographical Description of Wisconsin,* a second edition of which appeared in 1846. In his report for 1852 the first Wisconsin Commissioner of Emigration urged the state to secure the services of Dr. Lapham in preparing the official pamphlet.[29] This advice was heeded, with the happy result that scores of thousands of booklets translated into numerous foreign languages came from the pen of the most scientific writer in Wisconsin. In the later history of the immigration agencies of the state new pamphlets appeared from time to time, but practically all of them show the direct influence of Dr. Lapham's work. Not the least of Dr. Lapham's public services to Wisconsin was his admirable work in thus giving the state an excellent book designed for prospective settlers. The pamphlet of 1867 is typical of the Wisconsin publications and may profitably be examined in some detail. It bears the title *Statistics, Exhibiting the History, Climate and Productions of the State of Wisconsin.*[30] A map of the state, drawn with the nicety of workmanship characteristic of Dr. Lapham, serves as the frontispiece. Into the thirty-two pages of the pamphlet is compressed a fund of serviceable information on such topics as the following: location, topographical features, water power, rivers, small lakes, climate, health, geology, lead mines, zinc, iron ores, clays, peat and marl, native animals, fishes, forests, pine region, agriculture, chief crops of 1866 (the total value of which is placed at $69,213,544), live stock, farm products, implements, wages, manufactures, occupations, railroads,

[28] See Milo M. Quaife, "Increase Allen Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin," The Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. 1, no. 1 (September, 1917).

[29] *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration,* 15-16.

[30] Published by order of the legislature, Madison, Wis.: Atwood and Rublee, state printers, *Journal* office, 1867.

markets, population, newspapers, churches, principal cities, lands, surveys, the Homestead Law, land tenure, value of property, government, rights, office-holding, rights of married women, revenues of the state, schools, libraries, state institutions, postoffices, and routes from the seaboard. If Dr. Lapham omitted any important matter, the present writer is unable to name it. The book teems with the very kind of information immigrants most desired. To illustrate, definite information is given as to average wages for farm laborers. If hired for the year, the average monthly wage, without board, was $30.84; with board, $19.87; if hired for the season, without board, $35.65; with board, $24.60; if hired by the day in harvest, without board, $2.68; with board, $2.15; at other times, without board, $1.78; with board, $1.28.[31] Here was indeed information of value to the prospective settler without means. If in his conclusion Dr. Lapham seems to soar somewhat, the reader quickly discovers that every generalization there made is based upon a previous section of the booklet. He writes:

> It will be seen by the preceding statement of facts and statistics, based upon correct, usually official, evidence that Wisconsin
>
> Is a healthy state.
>
> A fertile state.
>
> A well watered state.
>
> A well wooded state.
>
> A rapidly growing state.
>
> A state where the rights of man are respected.
>
> Where intelligence and education are permanently secured for all future time.
>
> Where all the necessities and most of the comforts and luxuries of life are easily accessible.
>
> Where the climate is congenial to the health, vigor, and happiness of the people and where the rains are duly distributed over the different seasons of the year.
>
> Where agriculture, one of the chief sources of wealth to any nation, is conducted with profit and success.
>
> Where the division of the products of labor between the laborer and the capitalist is equitably made.

[31] *Statistics, Exhibiting the History, Climate and Productions of the State of Wisconsin*, 15.

Where the farmers are the owners of the land they cultivate.

Where honest labor always secures a competence for a man and his family.

Where land can be obtained almost without price.

Where property is constantly increasing in value.

Where every man has a voice in deciding the policy of the government under which he lives.

Where ample and proper provisions are made for the unfortunate.

Where every citizen is eligible to any office in the government.

Where there is a great variety of occupations open to all.

Where there is a due proportion between the city and country population, each affording mutual benefits and promoting the general welfare.

Where postal facilities enable us to communicate readily and cheaply with distant friends.

A state from whence markets are easily reached by water navigation, and by railroads.

A state well supplied with water power to aid in doing the work of the people.

A state affording many natural resources. And

A state that can be reached from the seaboard by a cheap, comfortable and speedy transit.[32]

That most of this could be said with equal truth in regard to the other states of the Northwest did not detract from its force as an argument for settlement in Wisconsin. Perhaps the most powerful inducement offered to settlers in Wisconsin was the land policy of the state. This policy was shaped especially to attract immigrants and to give Wisconsin an advantage over its neighbor states. Lands granted to the state for school purposes were offered for sale at extremely low prices. In fact, most of the four million acres received for university and school purposes has been disposed of in this way. As late as 1871, 56,000 acres of desirable land in Adams County were offered at fifty cents an acre; 20,000 acres in Marathon County and 100,000 in Wood County at from fifty cents to $1.25; and 94,000 in Shawano County at from $1.25 to $2.25 an acre.[33] The commissioners used the

[32] *Ibid.*, 31-32. The edition of 1869 has an addition of brief statistics on each of the counties of the state, including a careful statement of the foreign elements settled in each.

[33] K. A. Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element," 321 and fn. (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII). See also *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1872, p. 114.

state land policy as a very effective argument for settlement. As early as 1853 Commissioner Haertel presented it as a special reason why immigrants should go to Wisconsin. He wrote in his report for that year: "In my daily intercourse with the emigrant, I directed the attention of those intending to purchase land to the school lands of our state, showing to those of limited means that they could at once plant themselves in an entirely independent situation, as it could not be difficult for them, with patience and industry, and the long term allowed for payment, to meet their obligations. Upon inquiry, I have had the satisfaction to learn that during the past year large quantities of these lands, largely exceeding the sales of the previous year, have been sold, and chiefly to actual settlers." In 1869 the board published and distributed widely a list of school, university, and agricultural college lands subject to sale in Wisconsin counties. These lands were sold on time, twenty-five per cent in cash, with seven per cent interest on the balance due. The prices indicated in this list ranged mainly from $1.00 to $1.50.

The board was succeeded in 1871 by a commissioner of immigration. The act creating this office provided a temporary appointment by the governor, to hold until the popular election of a commissioner in November, 1871, for a two-year term. The office thus became a political one, the candidate running for it in the usual way.[34] The law of 1871 specified that an office was to be kept in Milwaukee; a pamphlet issued each year; English, French, German, Welsh, and Norwegian editions were to be put out; county committees were to be appointed to coöperate with the commissioner; a local agent was to be placed at Chicago four months of the year, while the commissioner himself was to act as local agent at Milwaukee. The act particularly authorized the commissioner to try to get reduced fares for immigrants from the railroad companies, and instructed him

[34] *General Laws of Wisconsin,* 1871, chapter 155.

also to coöperate with the United States Bureau of Immigration.[35]

This new office was held for three years by Ole C. Johnson, and by M. J. Argard for the years 1874 and 1875. It was abolished at the end of 1875, and immigration activity was then suspended until 1879. Ole C. Johnson was probably the most efficient commissioner of immigration that the state ever had. He was of Norwegian birth and had gained distinction in the Civil War, having risen to the rank of colonel, succeeding Hans C. Heg as the leader of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry. It is to be noted in this connection that in the other states of the Northwest as well as in Wisconsin the commissioners chosen were usually men of foreign birth, particularly German or Scandinavian.

Johnson's first annual report for 1871 is an elaborate and valuable document. In addition to a survey of his own activity, he devoted about eighty pages to reports from the county committees and over fifty pages to tables of statistics and figures exhibiting the resources and progress of Wisconsin. His publication policy is stated at the outset of the report. "One principle I have laid down for my guidance," he says, "viz.: to give the facts just as they exist, unvarnished and uncolored. I have noticed the pernicious practice indulged in by many railroad and land companies, and even those who represent states, of giving glowing accounts of their lands or states, that do not exist even in the imagination of the writers. This has become so common that many put little or no faith in documents gotten up for the purpose of inducing immigration. Consequently the practice is poor policy, as well as wrong in principle, and I have made special efforts that all information sent forth from my office shall be of the most reliable and trustworthy character." [36]

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration of the State of Wisconsin, for the year 1871,* 8-9.

A new practice was introduced by having the pamphlets published in foreign countries. In 1871 five thousand were published in Belgium in the French language, and ten thousand German pamphlets were published in Germany.[37] The following year ten thousand English pamphlets were published in England, and a like number in Norway in the Norwegian language for distribution in Denmark and Norway.[38] The advantages of this plan were obvious; the pamphlets were printed and distributed where they were certain to exert the most direct influence; the directness of the scheme gave Wisconsin a distinct advantage over the other states, for the state which first influenced the mind of an emigrant was usually made his objective point, especially if it turned out that many others of his nationality had already settled there. Commissioner Johnson believed that Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were much better known than Wisconsin, and that more extensive advertising was needed if the state were to compete on equal terms with its rivals. He notes that from May 1 to December 1, 1871 a total of 11,483 foreigners arrived at the port of Milwaukee, of whom 5,097 settled in Wisconsin.[39] Coöperation with the railroads is illustrated by the following statement of the Commissioner: "No old or infirm person, or women and children have been left in Milwaukee for want of means to get further, the company (Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company) always passing such over their roads free of charge." [40] In his report for 1872 the Commissioner points to the coming completion of new railroads as certain to be of great influence in the settlement of the state. He refers particularly to the Wisconsin Central, the Milwaukee and Northern (to Shawano

[37] *Ibid.*, 10. J. A. Becher of Milwaukee, who was in Germany at this time, coöperated with Colonel Johnson and aided particularly in securing consuls and steamship agents to distribute Wisconsin literature.

[38] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration . . . for 1872*, 17.

[39] *First Annual Report . . . for 1871*, 11.

[40] *Ibid.*, 14.

and thence to Lake Superior), and to the Green Bay and Lake Pepin, and hopes for a road from the Mississippi to Lake Superior in the northwestern part of the state as a means of opening up what would otherwise be a wilderness.[41] In 1872 four thousand pamphlets were printed in Welsh, with a view to attracting Welshmen from the coal and iron mines of Pennsylvania.[42]

Colonel Johnson was replaced at the beginning of 1874 by M. J. Argard of Eau Claire. In the same year the legislature passed a law abolishing the office of commissioner, to take effect in January, 1876.[43] Mr. Argard used the following language in his report for 1875 with reference to the repeal: "It was conceived in vindictiveness and brought about by third-rate politicians and followed my refusal to appoint to place in my office, at the commencement of the year 1874, and to place my manhood and self-respect in the keeping of men, who grasp with the avidity of cormorants and the voracity of sharks, after positions they are in no wise competent to fill." [44] The political meddling which temporarily halted the state immigration activity occurred at the time of a temporary slackening in immigration. Between 1873 and 1880 immigration to the United States was comparatively slight.[45] In explaining the great decrease Commissioner Argard does not mention the commercial depression in the United States in 1873,[46] but he does present the following five reasons: First, the rich harvest in Norway and Sweden in 1873; second, a considerable increase in the fishing

[41] *Annual Report . . . for 1872,* 12. The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad had been opened in 1871. See Lester B. Shippee, "The First Railroad Between the Mississippi and Lake Superior," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* vol. 5, no. 2 (September, 1918), pp. 121-42. The article brings out the nature of the rivalry between Wisconsin and Minnesota for the road.

[42] *Annual Report . . . for 1872,* 17.

[43] *Laws of Wisconsin,* 1874, chapters 238, 338.

[44] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration . . . for 1875,* 2.

[45] Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem,* supplement.

[46] But see Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration,* 42-43.

industry of the Scandinavian countries; third, the wider exploitation of the natural resources of the countries of northern Europe; fourth, the discouraging effects of the reports of great grasshopper plagues in western Minnesota and in Iowa; and finally, fifth, the bad treatment given arriving immigrants in the city of Chicago.[47]

The official immigration activity was discontinued this time until 1879, when the work was again renewed for a six-year period. In 1879 a Board of Immigration was created, consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and three other members. Authorized to encourage immigration from the East, Canada, and Europe, the board was given an appropriation of $2,500 for the first year. A salaried secretary was appointed by the board, Henry Baetz first occupying the position.[48] The local organization in the counties was revived in order to assist the board. The board came into existence just before the great influx of immigrants from northern Europe in the eighties. The first annual report points out that while in 1879 there arrived at Milwaukee 13,382 immigrants of whom 4,781 settled in Wisconsin and 6,985 in Minnesota, in 1880 a total of 38,838 immigrants arrived at the same port, 15,643 of whom went to Minnesota and 15,681 remained in Wisconsin.[49] During the years of the activity of this board records were kept of the immigrants arriving at Milwaukee, particularly as to numbers, nationality, and destination. Summaries were published in each annual report. The figures apply of course only to the immigration by way of Milwaukee, being in no sense general figures for the state. Most of the immigrants were Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes, with a scattering

[47] *Annual Report . . . for 1875,* 2-3.

[48] *Laws of Wisconsin,* 1879, chapter 176.

[49] *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration for the year ending December 31, 1880,* 1-2.

of Danes, English, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, Bohemians, Poles, and others. Upon the basis of the recorded figures an interesting study can be made in regard to the numbers of Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes who settled in Wisconsin and Minnesota. For example, during the six years from 1879 to 1884 inclusive, 75,551 of the Germans who arrived at Milwaukee settled in Wisconsin, while 25,328 went to Minnesota; during the same period 35,943 of the Norwegians arriving at Milwaukee went to Minnesota, while only 16,962 remained in Wisconsin; 25,679 Swedes went to Minnesota, while 7,481 settled in Wisconsin.[50] In earlier years Wisconsin had been the Mecca for the Scandinavian settlers, but it is clear from these figures that Minnesota had taken the lead and was drawing the great majority of the Norwegian and Swedish immigrants.[51] In the matter of the Germans Minnesota was also securing a large number, even though only about one-third as many as Wisconsin.

Among the publications put out by the board in 1880 were 10,000 pocket maps of Wisconsin, in English, German, and Norwegian.[52] In 1881, 5,000 maps were sent to England and an equal number to Germany. About 25,000 pamphlets were printed in 1881,[53] and in the following year close to 30,000 were distributed.[54] In 1883, 19,884 maps and pamphlets were sent out; in 1884, 17,016;[55] and in 1885-86,

[50] These totals are based upon tables printed in the annual reports for 1880, 1881, and 1882, and the biennial reports for 1883-84 and 1885-86. It should be pointed out that the records kept at Milwaukee were imperfect, particularly in respect to destination. Many immigrants failed to go where they intended to go, but the agent at Milwaukee could not of course verify his figures in this respect.

[51] Most of the Danes settled in Wisconsin.

[52] *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration of the State of Wisconsin for the year ending December 31, 1880,* 6.

[53] *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration . . . for 1881,* 11.

[54] *Annual Report . . . for 1882,* 10.

[55] *Biennial Report . . . for the term ending December 31, 1884,* 11-12.

23,032.[56] During the six years more than one hundred thousand pamphlets on Wisconsin were distributed. Considerable advertising was carried in foreign newspapers in these years also. For example, in 1881 advertisements were placed in newspapers in London and Frome, England; in Orebro, Sweden; in Hanover, Rostock, Gotha, Berlin, Stuttgart, Kaiserlautern, Regen, and other cities of Germany; in Vienna, Austria; and in Berne, Switzerland.[57] In 1882 forty-one German and Austrian newspapers were utilized for advertising purposes by the board.[58]

In 1880, at the request of the president of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, a land agent of that company, K. K. Kennan, was appointed European agent of the board without expense to the state. He was a very active worker, who desired the additional prestige which the state appointment would give him. He went to Europe in June, 1880, and directed his efforts chiefly toward securing Scandinavian and German immigrants. He distributed great numbers of documents (in 1881 at least 75,000, of which 7,570 were official state publications), and advertised extensively in the newspapers. He asserts that at one time he had advertisements in two thousand papers.[59] In the course of his work he received and answered twenty thousand letters.[60] On account of German laws against advertising emigration schemes, he located his headquarters at Basel, Switzerland.[61] It appears that complaints were made against his activities. In the cantonal archives of Basel is to be found a police memorandum on the subject of whether Kennan's methods were in violation of the law. This memorandum is accompanied by a clipping from *Der Volksfreund aus Schwaben,* of Tübin-

[56] *Biennial Report . . . for the term ending December 31, 1886,* 11.
[57] *Annual Report . . . for 1881,* 11-12.
[58] *Annual Report . . . for 1882,* 12-13.
[59] *Annual Report . . . for 1881,* 13.
[60] Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings,* 1907, p. 270, n. 14.
[61] He also established an office at Copenhagen, Denmark, as a center for his activities in the Scandinavian countries.

gen, February 13, 1883, containing the following advertisement:

AUSWANDERER! Die fünfte gemeinschaftliche Reise nach dem Staate WISKONSIN (Nordamerika), findet von Bremen aus, am 4. April, mit dem neuen Expressdampfer *Elbe* statt. Überfahrt von Bremen nach New York nur neun Tage. Auskunft betreffs Reisekosten ertheilt die *Direktion des Norddeutschen Lloyd in Bremen.* Werthvolle Karten und Broschüren über Wiskonsin sendet auf Verlangen gratis und portofrei der Commissär der Einwanderungsbehörde genannten Staates: K. K. KENNAN in Basel, Schweiz.[62]

Concerning the influence of Kennan, Dr. Albert B. Faust writes, "Through his efforts and those of the board about five thousand immigrants were secured, mainly from the forest lands of Bavaria, and were distributed along the line of the Wisconsin Central Railroad from Stevens Point to Ashland. The inducement held out to them was good wages in the lumber camps, where they might in a short time earn enough to buy land and build homes." [63] Kennan soon found that competition for immigrant settlement was not confined to agencies operating in America alone. In 1882 he wrote from Europe, "Other states have numerous active, aggressive, well-paid agents in the field, who do not scruple to misrepresent Wisconsin and decry the superior inducements which she offers to emigrants. Unless some systematic effort is made to counteract these representations and to keep the people supplied with reliable information about Wisconsin, we must expect to see the great stream of immigration pass by us, and be turned to account in developing the prairies west of us." [64]

Minnesota established a Board of Immigration in 1867. It had one important advantage over the Wisconsin board,

[62] Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives,* 118-19 (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution, 1916). The papers are listed under "Polizeidepartement Basel-Stadt." Dr. Faust gives the entire clipping.

[63] *The German Element in the United States,* I, 478-79.

[64] *Annual Report . . . for 1882,* 11. The board established in 1879 was abolished by an act of 1887. *Laws of Wisconsin,* 1887, chapter 21. The board was headed during the period from 1879 on by J. A. Becher of Milwaukee.

namely in its liberal appropriation, which was usually $10,000 a year.[65] Its activities in respect to publishing and distributing pamphlets and maps and advertising the state by other means were very much like those of Wisconsin. Some of its schemes, made possible by its larger appropriation, improved upon the Wisconsin ideas. Swedish, Norwegian, and German agents were sent to meet immigrants in New York, Montreal, and Quebec, to accompany them westward as guides and interpreters.[66] Upon reaching Minnesota—the guides were careful to see that they did reach Minnesota—settlers were not infrequently furnished temporary homes. That the Minnesota board of immigration attempted chiefly to attract Scandinavians is due to a prominent and able Swedish-American, Hans Mattson, who was made its secretary. Like Colonel Johnson, he had made a reputation for himself in the Civil War. He was especially influential in inducing Swedes to come to Minnesota and in this connection made several trips to Sweden. On one of these, in 1869, he organized and led to America a party of eight hundred Swedish immigrants.[67] In 1873 he returned from a second voyage with a large shipload of immigrants.[68] While acting as secretary of the board Mattson was also a land agent for a railroad running through Wright, Meeker, Kandiyohi, Swift, and Stevens counties, Minnesota. Of the results of this agency he wrote in his reminiscences, published in 1891: "In the above-named localities there were only a few scattered families when I went there in 1867, while it is now one continuous Scandinavian settlement, extending over a territory more than a hundred miles long and dotted over with cities and towns, largely the result of the board of

[65] Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences, The Story of an Emigrant,* 97 (Saint Paul: D. D. Merrill Company, 1891). See also, for example, *General Laws of Minnesota,* 1871, chapter L, pp. 104-105.

[66] Mattson, *Reminiscences, The Story of an Emigrant,* 99.

[67] *Ibid.,* 111.

[68] *Ibid.,* 131.

emigration during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869." [69] Like Wisconsin, Minnesota encountered some opposition and ill will in its immigration work. Mattson asserts that a prominent newspaper writer in Kansas accused him of selling his countrymen "to a life not much better than slavery in a land of ice, snow, and perpetual winter, where, if the poor emigrant did not soon starve to death, he would surely perish with cold." [70]

The report of the Minnesota board for 1871 shows that Minnesota had an aggressive agent at New York, named E. Page Davis. His office on Broadway was a bureau of general information. He made an arrangement with the Erie Railway Company whereby immigrants to Minnesota were to receive a reduction in fare of one-third and were likewise to be permitted fifty pounds of extra free baggage. During his term of service a collection of Minnesota products was sent to the annual fair of the American Institute at New York. At the conclusion of the fair Mr. Davis had the exhibit placed in his office, where it was used as a concrete illustration of what Minnesota could produce. In addition to the usual kinds of advertising Minnesota had reprinted during the year 1871 the entire pamphlet on the state in the columns of the *Free West,* an emigration paper published in London.[71]

In 1850 the Territory of Minnesota according to the United States census had twelve Scandinavians. Wisconsin had 8,885—of whom 8,651 were Norwegians. In 1870 Wisconsin counted in its foreign-born population 5,212 Danes,

[69] *Ibid.,* 100. There is no intimation that it was thought other than proper thus to serve both state and railroad.

[70] *Ibid.,* 101.

[71] *Report of the Board of Immigration of Minnesota,* 1871, 62-67. The report states that in 1871 more than 34,000 pamphlets were printed and most of them distributed. As an illustration of the attitude of the western railroads, the St. Paul and Pacific, and the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroads erected "immigrant houses" along their lines. For information on later Minnesota immigration activities see, for example, *Third Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration,* for the years 1885-1886.

40,046 Norwegians, and 2,799 Swedes—a total of 48,057 Scandinavians. Minnesota the same year had 1,910 Danes, 35,940 Norwegians, and 20,987 Swedes—in all, 58,837 Scandinavians. Thus Minnesota had in 1870 about seven and one-half times as many Swedes as Wisconsin and 10,780 more Scandinavians than Wisconsin. This surprising fact is due to a number of causes, but it may safely be asserted, and especially with reference to the figures for the Swedish element, that Hans Mattson and the Minnesota Board of Immigration constituted one important reason. By 1890 Minnesota had 99,913 Swedes, 101,169 Norwegians, and 14,133 Danes; and Wisconsin had 13,885 Danes, 65,696 Norwegians, and 20,157 Swedes.[72]

Iowa established a Board of Immigration in 1870.[73] It, too, copied the methods of Wisconsin. Supported by annual appropriations of $10,000,[74] it was able to carry out extensive plans. In addition to the usual campaign of advertising and pamphlet publication, it undertook to send agents to Europe where by means of paid advertisements, the distribution of pamphlets and maps, and their own personal influence, they aided considerably in turning a fair portion of the immigrant total to the state of Iowa.[75] Even the Territory of Dakota,

[72] The figures given refer to foreign-born only. See Appendix I, tables II, III, and IV, in Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States.* Chapter VII of the same work describes the expansion and distribution of the Scandinavians in the period from 1850 to 1900. "The Dakotas, as one territory, received their first Norse settler in 1858, but when the census of 1880 was taken there were 17,869, and in 1890, when the territory was divided into two states, the Scandinavian contingent was more than 65,000 strong." *Ibid.,* 72.

[73] *Laws of Iowa,* 1870, chapter 34.

[74] *Laws of Iowa,* 1872, chapter 23; 1880, chapter 168.

[75] *First Biennial Report of the Board of Immigration* (Iowa), January 1, 1872. In the first year fourteen agents were commissioned by the board as European representatives. Most of these served for little or no compensation and some of them were at the same time railroad agents. The first biennial report includes short reports from a number of these agents. One of these, by Henry Hospers, is of great interest. Hospers opened an office at Hoog Blokland in Zuid, Holland. His advertisements brought out so many letters of inquiry that he wrote and distributed a little eight-page pamphlet called *Iowa. Shall I Emigrate to America? Practically answered by a Hollander who resided 24 years in one of the best States in the Union.*

as early as March, 1885, created an office of Commissioner of Immigration, and during the next two years put out maps and pamphlets describing the great advantages of Dakota. The Commissioner was in fact so enterprising as to print regular monthly bulletins, seventeen of which were issued in all.[76] *Resources of Dakota,* printed at Pierre in 1887, is a typical Dakota pamphlet. Both South and North Dakota continued the work as separate states, the South Dakota commission having as late as 1916 an annual appropriation of $12,500. A typical Montana publication is *The Treasure State: Montana and Its Magnificent Resources,* published by the Bureau of Agriculture, Helena, 1899. *Pacific Northwest: Information for Settlers and Others* (New York, 1883) is the title of a pamphlet many editions of which were printed by the Oregon Board of Immigration.

It remains to touch briefly upon the last period of Wisconsin's activity in respect to immigration. In 1895 the Board of Immigration was renewed for two years, with an appropriation of $10,000 for the period.[77] The next legislature continued it two years longer, with an appropriation of $8,000. The board was at this time made up of the governor and the secretary of state and administered by a secretary who received $1,800 a year.[78] In 1899 the board was given another two-year lease and at the end of this time it went out of existence.[79] A law of 1905 authorized boards of supervisors in the counties to appropriate money to assist county associations in inducing settlers to come to Wisconsin.[80] In 1907 the Board of Immigration was once more revived[81] and continued its activities until 1915. The work is at present handled by the Immigrant Division of the Department of

[76] See the *First Biennial Report* of the Dakota Commission for 1885-1886.
[77] *Laws of Wisconsin,* 1895, chapter 235.
[78] *Ibid.,* 1897, chapter 327.
[79] *Ibid.,* 1899, chapter 279.
[80] *Ibid.,* 1905, chapter 458.
[81] *Ibid.,* 1907, chapter 407.

Agriculture. The significant and characteristic thing with respect to this last period is that the state has been forced to direct its attention more and more to the problem of keeping its own citizens. The second biennial report for 1910, to illustrate, states that in fifteen Wisconsin counties during the preceding ten-year period 8,375 people had been "exploited away" to other states.[82] An advertising and educational campaign with use of posters, leaflets, pamphlets, lectures, and various forms of "extension" work has been carried on to cope with this situation. Another recent problem in Wisconsin, to which considerable attention has been given by the various boards of immigration, has been the settlement of the northern area of the state. On the whole, the situation of Wisconsin in this last period has resembled that of the eastern states in the earlier years of the westward movement.

To evaluate accurately the activities of the various boards and commissioners of immigration in Wisconsin and its neighboring states is a difficult matter. These official state efforts must naturally be studied in conjunction with the activities of railroads, land companies, and other private concerns which sought actively to attract European immigrants. They must be considered in connection with European and American conditions which influenced the history of immigration.[83] The operations of the state governments were managed efficiently and on the whole honorably. The printed documents sent out were sometimes too glowing and optimistic, but there was probably no deliberate misrepresentation; exaggeration was a fault of the private companies to a far greater degree than in the case of the states; competition resulted in some instances perhaps in unscrupulous methods; the state immigrant officials were too often hampered by politicians who looked upon the office as legitimate political spoils. From the broad standpoint of advantage to

[82] *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Immigration* (1910), 6-7.
[83] Cf. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration,* chapter III.

the states and to the immigrants themselves these immigration agencies were of genuine benefit and clearly deserve historical appreciation.

Into the northwestern states came hundreds of thousands of immigrants to settle the vacant lands and help develop the economic resources of the young commonwealths. The competition for immigrant settlement added to the strength of the West in respect to population, wealth, and social progress. Nor should the benefit to the immigrant himself be forgotten. The best proof of the value of the advertising campaigns described in the foregoing is to be found in the census figures for the four decades after 1860. Had the matter of immigrant settlement been left to chance and to the natural factors influencing westward migration, it is likely that Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas would still have received a large share of the immigrants from northern Europe. But it is certain that the deliberate and carefully planned campaigns of these states added greatly to the movement. They resulted in greater emigration from Europe, and they increased the percentage of the total immigration which came into the Northwest. They help in considerable measure to explain the tremendous influx of Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes into Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Incidentally it may be remarked that the foreign elements in these states did not come here uninvited. They came in fact at the especial invitation of the state.

Finally, in studying the history of the immigration movement and the official actions of the northwestern states in connection with it one glimpses something of the vigor, the buoyant optimism, and the clear vision of the future that have characterized these states in their formative periods. The energetic, forward-looking spirit of the American West finds a vivid illustration in these conscious efforts to draw westward to the golden opportunities of the New World the masses of people grown restless with the restraints, economic and otherwise, of the Old.

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER III—THE DAYS OF THE LEAD MINERS

THE DRIFTLESS AREA

The surface of Wisconsin is a glaciated region, with the exception of thirteen thousand square miles in the south and west which comprise the well-known driftless area. This was not covered by the glaciers that during the recent geological period carved the major portion of Wisconsin's surface. In the southern portion of the driftless area, comprising all of Wisconsin south of the Wisconsin and west of the Sugar rivers and also small neighboring portions of Iowa and Illinois, lead ore is deposited in large quantities. The existence of these deposits was known to the French soon after the discovery of the Mississippi River. Lumps of lead among the Indians' belongings attracted the attention of the first explorers. Nicolas Perrot by 1684 visited the Wisconsin mines and operated them in a small way. Mention of lead mines below Wisconsin River appears on Delisle's map of 1703. During the latter part of the French régime the lead mines of Missouri attracted more attention than those of Illinois and Wisconsin; but with the coming of the English fresh interest was aroused by Jonathan Carver's description of the mines seen in 1766 from the Wisconsin River. By the time of the American Revolution extensive operations were being conducted at the lead mines on the Mississippi, where in 1780 Spanish and American prisoners were captured by an invading force from Mackinac, and fifty tons of lead ore were taken.[7] During the fur trade period bars of lead were

[7] *Ibid.*, XI, 151.

accepted in lieu of currency and in 1765 had an established value of five bars for a buckskin or a "middleing Bever." [8] The operator best known during the latter years of the eighteenth century was Julien Dubuque, a French-Canadian, who in 1788 secured a land grant from the Sauk and Fox Indians and in 1796 one from the Spanish government. Dubuque's headquarters were near the Iowa city which now bears his name, but his prospectors ranged over the Illinois and Wisconsin side of the river and made superficial diggings in many places. He stated in 1805 that he mined annually from twenty thousand to forty thousand pounds, and he so encouraged the Indians to turn their attention to extracting lead that in 1811 their agent reported that the Sauk and Foxes had almost abandoned hunting for mining.[9]

During all this period, however, lead mining was accessory to the fur trade. Dubuque was a trader; so were the earliest American operators of whom we hear, George Davenport, Jesse Shull, Dr. Samuel C. Muir, Amos Farrar, and Russell Farnham. They purchased lead of the Indians, either to secure their debts or to furnish ammunition for future hunting. Lead was a by-product of the fur trade. Only as the American frontier approached the mining region did the production of lead become a factor in the development of the state.

THE LEASING SYSTEM

The progress of the frontier along the Mississippi River was retarded by the hostile attitude of the Indians of that region. The lead mines were the home of the united Sauk and Fox tribe, while throughout the eastern portion of the region lived the Rock River Winnebago, the fiercest and most hostile of all the central western tribes. After the War of 1812 the Winnebago refused to make peace with the United States and were kept in order only by fear of the troops stationed at Wisconsin posts.

[8] *Illinois Historical Collections*, X, 403.
[9] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 252.

The Sauk and Fox tribe jealously guarded their lead mines and quickly drove out any unwary miner who ventured into the region of their diggings. In 1804 a few chiefs of this tribe made a treaty at St. Louis by which on certain conditions all their lands east of the Mississippi were ceded to the United States. The tribe as a whole refused either to ratify this treaty or to observe its conditions, and the friction thereby engendered finally led to open hostilities. Disregarding the protest of the Sauk and Foxes, the government in 1816 regranted the territory north of a line through the southern end of Lake Michigan to the combined tribes of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians, who claimed but never occupied the lead mines. Within this cession the president was privileged to reserve five square leagues for mineral purposes. Still more to complicate the situation Congress on March 3, 1807 passed an act reserving to the government all mineral lands in Indiana Territory, of which Wisconsin was then a part, and authorizing leases of such lands for periods not to exceed five years. Because of the danger from Indian hostilities, no leases were taken in the northwestern lead region until 1822. Then in response to advertisements of the government several lessees secured permits. In April of that year Col. James Johnson of Kentucky formed a company for immediate operations. The War Department ordered an escort of troops from Fort Armstrong at Rock River, and from Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Guarded by these forces, the Indian agent met the Sauk and Fox Indians at Fever River in June and wrung from them reluctant consent to Johnson's mining operations.[10]

In 1823 Dr. Moses Meeker of Cincinnati brought to the lead mines a colony, several of whom had government leases. During that summer there were seventy-four residents at the Iowa-Illinois mines.[11]

[10] Draper Manuscripts, 4T126-29.

[11] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 276-96.

THE WISCONSIN MINES

The first mines within the area now included in Wisconsin were found in 1824 at New Diggings in Lafayette County. The same year John Bonner took out 1,700 pounds of ore in one day at Hazel Green in Grant County. The Indians, however, were so menacing that isolated prospecting was given up, and it was not until 1826 that plans for a permanent mining settlement were made. In the autumn of that year Henry and Jean Pierre Bugnion Gratiot, through the favor of a half-breed Winnebago woman, made a purchase from her tribe of the privilege of mining in its territory and removed their homes and smelting works to the site near Shullsburg, thereafter known as Gratiot's Grove. The next summer the Gratiots were obliged to leave temporarily because of the hostilities known as the Winnebago War.[12]

This outbreak was occasioned by a false rumor of the ill treatment of some members of the tribe at Fort Snelling on the upper Mississippi. Its true cause was the restlessness of the Winnebago at the encroachments upon their lands and the removal of the restraining military forces from Fort Crawford. Actual hostilities were few, consisting of the murder of two French families near Prairie du Chien and an attack upon a Mississippi keel boat. The entire frontier, however, was alarmed. Henry Dodge at Galena enlisted a troop of mounted rangers. The regulars from Fort Howard at Green Bay and from Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis were set in motion towards Prairie du Chien. The Winnebago tribe yielded to the show of force and at the Wisconsin portage delivered to the military officers three of the offending chiefs.

The surrender of Chief Red Bird on this occasion is one of the dramatic incidents of Wisconsin history. The Winnebago warriors, playing slow music, and giving the death

[12] *Ibid.*, X, 269-70.

halloo, crossed the river to the army camp, preceded by Red Bird magnificently clothed in a full suit of white buckskin, and bearing himself with all the dignity of conscious tribal honor. Stepping forward to Colonel Whistler he lowered his proud head as if in expectation of immediate decapitation. Then stooping he gathered a pinch of dust and flung it away saying, "I have given away my life like that. I would not take it back. It is gone." Conveyed to prison at Prairie du Chien, this magnificent savage pined and died from the effects of confinement. Truly in Indian fashion he gave his life for his friends.

This episode of the surrender ended the Winnebago War. The government next year built Fort Winnebago at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. The close of hostilities was the signal for a great rush to the Wisconsin mines. Captain Henry Dodge arrived at Dodgeville October 3, 1827, and bought from the humbled Winnebago the privilege of building a smelter. John Rountree, George Wallace Jones, and the Parkinson brothers came the same autumn. The sites of Beetown, Darlington, Dodgeville, Platteville, Sinsinawa Mounds, and White Oak Springs were staked out. The next spring brought a greater rush of prospectors and speculators, so that by the close of 1828 there were from eight to ten thousand people at the lead mines.

The mining process was not a difficult one; it was no more laborious than digging a well. Dodge, for example, had taken from his diggings by March, 1828, from three to four thousand dollars' worth of ore. Many a miner made $100 a week. The first smelter was that set up in 1826 by the Gratiots. In 1828 a furnace was built at Mineral Point, then popularly known as "Shake Rag under the Hill." So eager were the prospectors for ore that no time was taken to provide for necessities. During the summer many of the operators lived in tents; with the coming of cold weather they removed

to abandoned shafts in the side of the hill. The residents of Wisconsin because of their burrowing habits were called "badgers." The Illinois teamsters, who disappeared with cold weather, were known as "suckers" from a migratory fish of western streams. Thus these historical sobriquets arose. All classes and conditions of men drifted to the mining region during this early rush. Men came who had known the luxuries of life, like William Schuyler Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton of New York. Most of the newcomers had seen something of pioneer life elsewhere on the frontier. Among the foreign-born several groups of Swiss removed from the Selkirk settlement on Red River. Cornish miners from England began coming in large numbers after 1832.

Conditions of living were similar to those of other mining regions. Credit was easy; life was full of excitement and change. The rumor of a new "lead" caused a fresh rush to the new locality. The vices and virtues of such a frontier were in evidence. Drinking and gambling, quarrels and duels were common. By 1828 the Methodist circuit riders appeared at Mineral Point. Among the persons from the more cultivated classes the free and easy hospitality of the frontier prevailed. The visit of Mrs. Hamilton to her son at Wiota was an occasion when all the settled inhabitants vied with one another in attentions to this distinguished lady.[13] A considerable degree of culture was current in southwest Wisconsin during this period. Ladies from the social circles of Paris and London lived here in familiar intercourse. Many private libraries were in possession of the mining operators. As early as 1830 a classical school was started at Mineral Point. To find the beginnings of Wisconsin culture the historian must study the early days in the mining community.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISTRICT

The Indian title of all the land west of Pecatonica River was extinguished by the Treaty of 1829 at Prairie du

[13] *Ibid.*, 274-75.

Chien. Both the Winnebago and the united tribes of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi ceded their claims to the government. The latter opened a land office in 1834 at Mineral Point. Mining lands were not, however, open to entry and continued to be held under leases. Until 1830 ten per cent of the product was the rental price; after that date six per cent. The provision exempting mineral lands from entry led to many frauds and evasions. Men led blindfold over the lands swore before the land office register that they had seen no mining operations. The fraudulent entry system was so notorious that in 1840 an investigation was ordered. In 1846 the leasing system was abandoned, and all lands were alike opened to entry.

Lead was shipped out of Wisconsin by the river routes or hauled by teams to some convenient shipping point. In 1830 Daniel Whitney, an enterprising Green Bay merchant, attempted lead manufacture near the mines. He formed a company to build a shot tower on the Wisconsin River, which in 1831 began operations. The tower was completed in 1833, and although it changed owners repeatedly, the manufacture of shot was continued until 1861. This enterprise aided in upbuilding the lead region and diverted from Illinois and Missouri much lead that had formerly gone thither.[14]

The population in the mining region fluctuated with the price of lead. In 1829 this dropped from $5.00 per hundred to less than one-quarter that amount, while general prices appreciated. It required four thousand pounds of ore to purchase a barrel of flour.[15] Hard times checked the inrush of adventurers and sent hundreds of the floating population to other regions. Gradually prosperity and population returned; and by 1832 there was permanent occupation of southwestern Wisconsin—villages were incorporated, roads

[14] *Ibid.*, XIII, 335-74.
[15] *Ibid.*, II, 334-35.

were begun, and farms were opened. In 1830 Lucius Lyon, government surveyor, began to run the section lines.

The center of the region was Mineral Point, which in 1829 became the seat of the new county of Iowa. There in 1830 a session of the United States court was held. Mineral Point was candidate for the capital of a proposed territory west of Lake Michigan, suggested by Judge James D. Doty as early as 1824. In 1827-28 a bill to erect Chippewau Territory passed the House of Representatives, but failed in the Senate. In 1830 a bill for Huron Territory was introduced providing for the territorial capital at Doty's town of Menominee on Fox River. The opposition of the lead-mining region to this latter provision defeated the consideration of the bill. Mineral Point remained for some years the largest and most important town in Wisconsin. Meanwhile Dodgeville, Platteville, Shullsburg, and Lancaster grew and improved, and Cassville was begun as a Mississippi port.

When Wisconsin Territory was organized in 1836 the mining region had a larger share of its population and a more settled mode of living than any other section. It strongly inclined to the type of life in Missouri and southern Illinois, whence many of its prominent members had migrated. A few slaves were kept for domestic purposes, a generous hospitality prevailed, schools and churches were being built, and the foundations were laid for a genuine American community.

A FRONTIER WAR

With the exception of the mineral region and the old Franco-American posts of Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and Portage, Wisconsin in 1832 was a wilderness given over to wild animals and Indians. Much of its southern portion was considered uninhabitable, a land of swamps and morasses. The outside world became acquainted with Wisconsin as the result of a frontier war.

For more than a decade before 1832 the United States had not experienced a genuine Indian panic. A generation had grown up since the battle of Tippecanoe, and the frontier had been pushed to the outskirts of Illinois. The new generation, likewise, was thrilling with the Indian romances of James Fennimore Cooper. The *Spy* was published in 1821, and the *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826. Both the qualities and powers of the aborigines were regarded through the mists of romance. For these and similar reasons the Black Hawk War was a genuine epoch in the history of Wisconsin.

Black Hawk, himself not a chief, was the leader of a band of the Sauk tribe, whose major portion took no part in the hostilities of 1832. Black Hawk's was known as the British band, because of long relationship with the officers of that nation at Malden. The warrior deluded himself into thinking he should have the support of the British authorities in his defiance of the Americans. He likewise expected aid and comfort from the Potawatomi and Winnebago, who were secretly sympathetic, but in wholesome fear of the United States troops. Black Hawk considered himself and his followers the victims of deep wrongs at the hands of the frontiersmen, who had driven him from his ancestral village and maltreated many of his tribe. He decided to ignore the prohibitions of the American authorities and to return to his ancestral home, intending to maintain his position by force if necessary.

Early in April Black Hawk's band crossed the Mississippi below Rock Island. So little was a hostile attempt anticipated that the Indian agent at the lead mines, Col. Henry Gratiot, was at St. Louis, leaving a defenseless family at Gratiot's Grove. Black Hawk's action was interpreted by the bordermen as an act of hostility, notwithstanding he had with him all the women and children of his band, who never accompany a true war party. Governor John Reynolds of Illinois yielded to panic and summoned the state's militia to repel the in-

vaders. Wisconsin's lead-mine region was peculiarly endangered. If the Illinois troops attacked they would drive the infuriated tribesmen directly into the mining settlements. The Winnebago on their eastern border were notoriously untrustworthy. The inhabitants at once adopted the frontier method of "forting." Log posts were built at Dodge's, Parkinson's, Hamilton's, Gratiot's, Brigham's at Blue Mounds, and many other places. Colonel Dodge, acting as a militia officer, enlisted a large force of roughriders; mines were abandoned and the women and children conveyed to the rude log forts.

In May, Dodge determined to hold a council with the Winnebago, and accompanied by Gratiot, who had narrowly reached home alive after an attempted interview with Black Hawk in person, set out with an escort of fifty troopers for the country at the head of Fourth Lake. Opposite the site of Madison a council was held at which the Winnebago promised fidelity to the whites. In token of this agreement they soon delivered over to the commandant at Blue Mounds two captive girls taken by the Sauk after a massacre in northern Illinois.

The prompt action of Dodge and Gratiot saved the lead mines. Black Hawk, infuriated by the Illinois militia, ravaged the frontier of that state. Only isolated murders occurred in Wisconsin; one skirmish was fought on the sixteenth of June at Pecatonica River. By the end of June danger to the mining settlements was over. Black Hawk and his warriors had been driven into the Lake Koshkonong region, then an unsettled wilderness, and were being pursued by a force of regulars and militia ten times their number.

In the final rout Dodge's men took a conspicuous part. The Indians, driven from their retreat, were pursued northwest through the Four Lakes to Wisconsin River, where a stand was made to permit the women and children to escape.

The Indians' line of defense was broken through and hundreds of red men were ruthlessly cut down. The remnant fled to the Mississippi where the final tragedy occurred on August 2. The poor starving fugitives seeking to escape across the river were mowed down by fire from the pursuing troops and by that from the steamboat *Warrior*. The ruthless massacre was a disgrace to the American people. Black Hawk, taken alive, was carried as a prisoner through the eastern states and paraded as a curiosity. The last Indian war in Wisconsin was over. The forts in the mining regions soon fell into decay; the next year the Indian title to all territory south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway was extinguished. Wisconsin was moreover placed upon the map of the United States. Returning troopers praised her soil and fertility. Eastern newspapers exploited her inviting opportunities for emigrants. Pamphlet literature furnished travelers' guides. After two hundred years of seclusion Wisconsin was opened for colonization by the surplus population of the older states.[16]

[16] The best brief account of the Black Hawk War is that of R. G. Thwaites in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 217-67; revised and improved in his volume of essays entitled, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903), 113-98. *Black Hawk's Autobiography*, edited by M. M. Quaife, was published by the Lakeside Press of Donnelly and Company, Chicago, in December, 1916.

(To be continued)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

In the March issue of this MAGAZINE was given some account of the connection of Theodore Roosevelt with the State Historical Society during the last third of a century. The striking portrait of our late leader of Americanism which we are privileged to present has an interesting albeit pathetic history. Our engraving is from a photostatic print made in the Wisconsin Historical Library of a simple pen and ink drawing of the late ex-President made by Robert Elliott, an inmate of Waupun. Elliott is a man of university training and, it hardly need be added, an expert penman. This skill combined with a weakness for alcohol has proved his undoing. Under the influence of liquor he twice forged checks for sums of money, an offense he has never been tempted to commit when sober. Although the total amount thus secured was less than forty dollars, he has passed half a dozen years in prison; and when pardoned from Waupun in March, 1919, a deputy was in waiting to lead him to prison in a distant state. The original drawing of Mr. Roosevelt was given by Elliott to Hon. John L. Grindell of Platteville, a member of the visiting committee of the legislature to inspect the several state institutions. To Mr. Grindell acknowledgment is due both for the information here set forth and for the privilege of reproducing the portrait.

A TRAGEDY OF THE WISCONSIN PINERY

Rude are the methods of administering justice in the wilderness or on the frontier. The refinements of legal procedure as practiced in older-established society are likely to be disregarded in favor of resort to a rough-and-ready adjustment of accounts between the parties concerned. Particularly is this likely to be the case when to the other factors ordinarily present on the frontier is added the clash of different races, the one superior and masterful, the other inferior and submissive.

In the pioneer period of Wisconsin's development occurred numerous clashes between representatives of the red race and the white, not always due, it is sad to confess, to wrongdoing on the part of the former. Commonly these events pass into oblivion with no record being made concerning them for the enlightenment of other times. Jointly to John Bracklin, one of the participants, and to Henry E. Knapp are we indebted for the preservation of the narrative which follows. In itself an excellent story of adventure, simply yet forcefully told, it possesses also a real historical significance in that many of the aspects which the tale presents are typical of similar clashes between red man and white in the age-long period of association and struggle they have undergone since the first coming of the whites to America.

The narrator, James Bracklin, was the father of John L. Bracklin whose remarkable description of a Wisconsin forest fire was published in the issue of this magazine for September, 1917. James Bracklin was for over thirty years superintendent of logging and log driving for the Knapp-Stout Lumber Company of Menomonie. Barker, his associate in

the adventure, was Bracklin's predecessor in this position, holding it for a period of several years. Concerning the recording of the narrative Mr. Knapp writes: "I took this down in shorthand as he [Bracklin] related it to the directors of our company, at one of their annual meetings, at their request. We had all heard it before, and the older members who were living here at the time remembered the circumstances and said it was all true—only that Mr. Bracklin minimized his part in it."

JAMES BRACKLIN'S ACCOUNT OF AN OCCURRENCE IN 1864

Two men had gone out from Stillwater to look over a site for a logging camp. They were up in St. Croix County, and from what was afterwards learned this is what occurred to them:

The men were walking through a strip of brush land half to three quarters of a mile wide along the river; they were apparently making their way to the river. Two Indians were coming up the river in a canoe and heard the men talking, and the Indian that shot himself, a man about twenty-one years of age and a very hard looking citizen, said that the other Indian proposed that they land and kill the white men. This he claimed he did not want to do, as he was a good Indian, but that they did land, and the other Indian shot one of the men. The Indian that did not want to do the shooting claimed to me afterwards that he was horror stricken; that he was a good Indian, but that the other Indian kept urging him to shoot, shoot, shoot, and finally on the impulse of the moment he shot and badly wounded the second man. The first man who was shot was wounded and ran away and wandered around with the other Indians after him and finally he came back to where his partner was lying, and the Indians caught the man and killed both of them. The Indians then went to work and cut them all up into small pieces and sunk them in the lake. They claimed that by cutting into small pieces and puncturing frequently with holes there would be no air form, and pieces would not rise to the surface.

When the men did not return home their friends were uneasy and finally began to search for them and did search for three months. In June, 1864, about three hundred were said to be out in the woods in parties searching for them. The search ran along until August or early September. There were several bands of Chippewa encamped at Rice Lake and Chetek. The old Chetek Chief learned that troops were on the way from Menomonie and he became very uneasy. There was no foundation for the fact that troops were coming, but he heard it so, and he thought better to "squeal." The Indians at Rice Lake had been complaining about the dam that we had built there raising the water so that it pulled the rice out by the roots and spoiled their rice beds, and we had consulted with the old Chief several times and tried to settle matters with him, but without coming to any understanding that was satisfactory to him. The first head of water we drew from Rice Lake after the dam was built, the logs jammed about Cranberry Creek. This was August, 1864.

I went down to Menomonie, and Captain Wilson told me of the disappearance of these men in St. Croix County, and I said they must have been murdered by the Indians or they would have been found. We were out in the woods a good deal and knew that if they killed some and were not found out, they would likely kill others, and that this should be looked into, and the murderers found if possible. Captain Wilson said that was right, and that if we should find them and needed any help, to send word to him and he would send us help. So when the old Chief at Chetek sent a messenger to us at Louseburg, Barron County, Wisconsin, where I was hauling logs with four or five ox teams and seven or eight men, we thought that, as he wanted us to come down and see him at Chetek it was on account of the rice beds again, and we did not want to go, as we were busy, but the messenger said that the old Chief had something to tell us, so Mr. Barker and I walked down there. (Samuel B. Barker at that time had a small trading post at Louseburg). A crew of men were at work finishing the Chetek dam. It was late in the evening, so we went to bed in a tent, and the next morning the cook said the Indians had come from the rice beds and were camping along the Pokegama Narrows, and that there was a great deal of commotion that morning, and that some were coming down the lake in a canoe, with a flag flying.

They finally landed and camped right in front of the shanty and put up a flag, the Stars and Stripes. The cook said that war was about to begin sure. S. P. Barker knew this old Chief, and the Chief thought a great deal of Barker, and word came in to Barker that the Chief wanted to interview Barker and Bracklin out in the jack pines in a secluded place; that he had a very important communication to make. We did not want to go so far, but finally went out fifty rods, and then a little farther, and a little farther, and finally in an open space the old Chief sat down, and we sat down also. The Chief was a very ceremonious old fellow. He opened the ball by inquiring whether the man that had been lost over in St. Croix County had been found. I did not know, but I did not let him know it, but I said: "Oh, yes, they were killed by the Indians." The Chief smoked a minute and said, "That is true," and then went on and told us all about it.

The Chief understood that troops were coming, and as his band did not have anything to do with this murder he wanted us to protect his band and tell the commander of the troops that they were good Indians. He told us all about the murder and who the men were. I knew one of the men and so did Barker. He said that the men got quite a lot of money from the clothes of one of the murdered men, and we learned that it was probably about $1,500, as one of these men was a kind of a miser, who carried his money with him wherever he went. We knew that there were no troops coming, and that there was no danger in that direction to the old Chief, but told him that we would look after his interests, and decided that we would keep an eye out for the gentleman Indian that did the murder, and so we went back to camp.

Barker went on to Louseburg. Joe Queen was one of the ox teamsters, and we used to let the cattle run in the woods at night, and Joe went out to look for them in the morning and walked as far as Louseburg, not finding them. Barker sent word to me to come to Louseburg at once, and I got there at seven in the morning, and Barker told me that one of those Indians had showed up, and that there were quite a lot of Indians there, and we decided to try and catch him, but did not know how we were to proceed. Barker pro-

posed that we send for the seven men that were at Chetek, but I said no, that we had better take him ourselves.

The Indians were camped just a little way above Louseburg. I was not on particularly good terms with the Indians myself just then. They were feeling good and had plenty to eat and were gambling. They had lots of devices for gambling. One game was to lay a blanket out on the ground, and the leader had two moccasins and a bullet, and he moved them around over the blanket, and then betting would commence as to where the bullet had been left, under which moccasin. After all the bets were in the fellow picks up a rod and strikes the moccasin that had or that he thought had the bullet under it. These Indians bet anything, from their moccasins even to their souls. We saw them gambling and of course looked around and we saw the Indian we wanted sitting on a log, looking on. There were seventy-five to one hundred Indians there. The gamesters paid no attention to us. I noticed a vacant seat on the log beside the Indian, and I thought I would just go over and sit down beside him, so I walked over quietly, not looking at him, just looking at the place where I was going to sit down, but just before I got to it the Indian got up and stepped over the log away a step or two, and I sat down. He went off and sat down somewhere else, and Barker followed my tactics and tried to sit down by the Indian where he was then, and then he moved again, and I tried to get near him again, and we kept up that kind of tactics for perhaps an hour and a half.

Finally one player got broke, and he was not satisfied to stop playing, and he went to a tent and got two mink skins. This was in the summer time, and mink skins were pretty poor then, but he brought them out and wanted to sell them to Barker. Barker kept some calico and things of that kind to trade with the Indians in a little house that he had there, keeping them locked up in a chest. Barker told him that they were not much good, but he wanted a little calico to go on with the game, and Barker finally told him that he would give him 25 cents each in goods for them, and they started down to the store to get them. All the Indians came down. They wanted to do a little trading, too, and they all came into the store, but this one Indian stayed outside.

Barker went into the little building which we called a store and noticing that this Indian did not come in he thought he would try to get him in by some strategy and so he began feeling around in his pocket for his keys to open the chest, and while he had the keys there he made an excuse that he would have to go down to his camp a few rods away after the keys, and so he stepped out, but the Indian stepped right away from the door, and then Barker went on down, but looking back saw that the Indian had stepped into the door again, and Barker turned around and came back, thinking that the Indian would then walk into the store ahead of him, but he did not do that, but stepped back out again. Barker went in and made an excuse to pick up something that he had apparently forgotten to take down to the camp and then went out again and down to the camp, and the Indian again stood in the door, but when Barker came back, instead of going in, he stepped off to one side again, so Barker came in and got his goods out on the little counter, and of course kept his eye on the Indian as much as possible, and I did, too, though of course neither pretending to do so.

There was a fiddle on the wall, and I took it down and began to saw away, and the Indian stood in the door, and after a while he forgot himself and came inside. Of course Barker saw this, and he worked his way down behind the counter quietly, all the time talking to the Indians and showing the goods, and when he got pretty near down to the door and saw that the Indian was off his guard, Barker jumped over the counter towards the door. The Indian saw it and rushed for the door. Barker grabbed him, and the first grab tore his shirt off slick and clean, and the next grab he got him by the wrist, and the Indian was all outside except the wrist that Barker held.

In the meantime, I rushed to the rescue and I grabbed the Indian by the hair and jerked him back inside of the room and closed the door. The Indians, in the meantime, before I closed the door, had all rushed out. As soon as I closed the door and put in the pin, the door came in broken off of its hinges, and all the Indians came in with it. We had pulled the Indian to the back part of the store, and he had of course fought like a good fellow, and to keep him we had pounded him and kicked him, in the mêlée, and when these Indians came in they grabbed hold of him to pull him out of the door, and they pulled him

one way and we pulled the other, and he was dragged back and forth in that store from one end to the other a great many times, and he was so bruised up that he was practically useless himself. He could not help himself, or, if he could, he would have got away. We kept this thing up for about an hour, and they could not get him, and they saw it, so they sent to Rice Lake and the Forks of Yellow River for a band of Indians that were encamped there to come and help them.

There was an old Indian called "Krokodokwa," and he came and asked what the trouble was. This old Indian was friendly, and Barker, after telling the old Indian what we were trying to do said, "I think I can get this old Krokodokwa to take a note down to Chetek to Henry Sawyer to come up and bring his gang, and so I wrote a note and Barker talked with Krokodokwa and he said he would take the note down. The Indians outside got wind of it in some way or other and they told the old Indian that they would kill him if he did. He took the note and ran for the bank of the river, and then along under the bank down the river quite a number of rods. The Indians got out on the bank and began shooting at him, but fortunately for him they did not hit him, and he finally got across the river and got away, but they kept chasing and shooting at him, and for half an hour we could hear shots. He delivered the note, and Sawyer quietly said to the men, "Barker and Bracklin want all hands at Louseburg. Did not say what for." And they started along slowly, the old Indian and Sawyer bringing up the rear.

The old Indian said to Sawyer, "You better hurry up. Barker and Bracklin are in trouble up there; the Indians are making trouble with them." Sawyer then told the men, and they deliberated as to whether they would go up and get murdered or what they would do. They did not have any arms, except perhaps one old gun, but they finally came along until they got near enough to Louseburg so they could see the camp, but they could not see anything of Barker or me, and while stopping there the band of Indians from Yellow River came up behind them and drove them into Louseburg. The Indians crowded around and demanded that we deliver the Indian we had to them. We said, "You can't have him." The Indians had come down from Rice Lake too. We explained to them several times why we were

holding this Indian and that we were not going to do him any harm, but would send him to Stillwater where he would have trial. We told them several times that he had killed two men. They tried several times to get him away, but failed.

We had one old horse there, and I said to Barker that we better send word right away to Captain Wilson, so I wrote a note, and Joe Queen got the horse out and took the note, and I told him to get to Menomonie just as quick as he possibly could. The Indians fired at him as he went away but did not hit him. The Indians all the rest of that day were very uneasy and they yelled and caroused, and finally it came dark, and we did not have any candles or oil or any lamps. The only thing that there was there was some deer tallow and candle wicking and the moulds, and Barker went down to the shanty to make some candles.

The mother and sister of the Indian we had, came in to see him, and we let them in, and the parting between the mother and the son was really very touching. She evidently knew that he had been advised by the other Indians to kill himself rather than be taken away. There was one young Indian came to the door and asked to be allowed to go in and see this other Indian, and the Indian himself said yes he would like to see him, and so we let him in, and he sat down on the floor near him and talked away for half an hour, and then he got up and went out. We never thought of his bringing in any arms to the Indian, but he had brought and delivered to the Indian an old two-barrel pistol. Our Indian went over close to the wall, and with his face to the wall at a crack where the chinking was out, he sang a song, and the Indians on the outside kept passing along on the outside and speaking a word to this Indian now and then, and about nine o'clock a cap snapped. I knew that it was inside the building, because I could see the flash, and while the Indians had been shooting a good deal outside and some of the bullets had come through the walls during that afternoon and evening, this was different from any of those shots, and I did not know what he intended to do, whether he intended to fire among us and create a commotion and in the dark escape, but at any rate I think he placed the pistol over his shoulder and pulled the trigger. I saw the light of the flash and jumped for the Indian, but our men jumped, too, and rushed for the door, and as it was

dark they shoved me along towards the door, and one man in the rush got out of the door, but I braced myself in the door and held on and kept the others from getting out. I kept the door barricaded.

In the meantime, the Indian had placed the pistol against his breast low down and pulled the trigger. Of course he made a big hole in himself and finally he fell over. I did not know whether he was playing possum or not. By this time Barker came with the candles and I said to Barker, "I am afraid that fellow is playing possum. We better be pretty careful." So we closed the door and guarded it, and then went and examined the Indian, and he was a good Indian fast enough, that is, dead. The Indians outside were very much excited and they came right away and accused me to Barker of having killed the Indian. I told Barker it didn't matter whether I did or not; the Indian was dead. They wanted the Indian's body, and we said we would not give it to them, and finally, after keeping him until about three o'clock in the afternoon we buried him.

Joe Queen had reached Menomonie early in the morning and went right to Captain Wilson's house and told the Captain how the situation was and gave him my note, and the Captain at once sent out to get a number of men, and he sent seventeen of them up in wagons by way of Twenty-two Mile Ford. As soon as Joe Queen started out some of the Indians started out and followed down after him, and during the day the Indians around the cabin at Louseburg would hear every five minutes as to how the help that was coming from Menomonie were proceeding. We could tell every five minutes just where they were and what progress they were making. Of course they made a mistake in the number that was coming; they sometimes got it as high as twenty-five wagon loads of help, but that help was coming they knew. Of course they must have got their information by signals.

When we buried the Indian three old Indians came and looked on, and Barker told them what this Indian had done and how he had cut up these men, etc., and he did not tell it all, for one of them spoke up and said, "Yes, he cut off his ears too." The men from Menomonie came along as far as my camp, and there they heard that the Indian was dead and buried, so they stopped and got some supper and then came on. The Indians there wanted protection from the army, but

the army came and there were only seventeen men, and so we sat around and visited and talked the matter over that night and they went back.

The next morning there was not a spot on my body that was not as sore as a boil. I tell you that after we got started in that scrape we had to stay in it, or else there would have been no living in that part of the country. If they had got that Indian away from us, we could not have stayed there. We would have been glad to have got out of it within two minutes after we were in it, if we could have done so, but, as we could not, we made the best of it. Of course, those of you who know Barker know that he was a six-footer, a giant in strength, and as brave as a lion. He didn't know what fear was, but he was of a very quiet disposition; he never swore—was educated for a minister—but during that fight he hit every Indian within reach and was a terror.

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF A FIFTH WISCONSIN VOLUNTEER

EDITED BY R. G. PLUMB

From time to time side lights upon the real life of the soldier boys of '61 are afforded by the finding of letters written by them during their years of service. Such a series recently came to light in the correspondence of James H. Leonard,[1] Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Infantry. This young patriot before the breaking out of the civil strife was a school-teacher at Branch, Manitowoc County. His letters show a thoughtfulness and power of expression often lacking in the missives of less educated boys. These letters were addressed to Mary Sheldon, later Mrs. P. J. Pierce of Manitowoc.

Company A left Manitowoc June 23, 1861 on the Goodrich steamer, *Comet*. Upon arrival at Madison its members were inducted into the United States service at Camp Randall. The Madison *State Journal* of the time noted that "They are strong, hardy men from the lumbering districts,

[1] James H. Leonard was born in 1843 in Brooklyn, N. Y., whither his father Stephen and his mother Mary Howard Leonard had removed from England. Stephen Leonard was a sea captain and died when his son was sixteen years of age. The same year young Leonard migrated to Wisconsin, where he made his home at Manitowoc. In the winter of 1860-61 he studied for a time at Madison. When he enlisted May 4, 1861 in the Manitowoc Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteers he was scarcely eighteen years of age, but had already taught school in Manitowoc County. His war history is related in the following letters. He received a gunshot wound in his arm at Rappahannock Station. When his term of enlistment expired he was offered a first lieutenant's commission, but declined it, and was mustered out July 27, 1864. Thereafter he returned to Manitowoc and continued teaching. In 1868 he was one of two survivors of the ill-fated steamship *Seabird* that was burned off Kenosha. The previous year Mr. Leonard had married Martha Gould of Kenosha, and in July, 1874 the Leonards removed to Green Bay. There Mr. Leonard was city superintendent of schools from 1878 to 1885. In 1889 he was appointed collector of internal revenue. After the expiration of his term in 1893 he entered the life insurance business. Mr. Leonard was a member of Green Bay Methodist Church and for several years superintendent of the Sunday school. He was also connected with the Knights of Pythias and other societies. He died in 1901. His only daughter, Mrs. Fay Jones, a graduate of Lawrence College, now resides in Aurora, Illinois.

JAMES H. LEONARD
From a war-time daguerreotype

who have been well drilled in machinery but have not been exercised in the manual of arms." The captain of Company A was popular with his men. In front of his tent at the camp white pebbles were utilized to make this inscription: "Captain Clark, God Bless Him." During the war the record of the Fifth Wisconsin was a noble one. After the first battle of Bull Run the regiment was hurried to the front where the first of these letters was written.

CAMP COBB NEAR WASHINGTON
August 15th 1861

FRIEND MARY

I was much pleased to receive your kind letter in connection with Lucretia's last Saturday I had just wrote a letter to Jerry, and Sunday I wrote to Keed knowing that if I did not write Sunday I should not have an opportunity again for a few days, having to go out on picket duty, on which I started early Monday morning and was stationed about six miles from our camp up the Potomac Our pickets from this division (Gen McClellans) extend all along up the Potomac until they meet those thrown out from Harpers Ferry by Gen Banks, and thus the whole line is continually guarded. I returned from such duty this (Thursday) morning This is my first and greatest excuse for not answering your note before though according to the mail facilities I should not be surprised if this arrived at the Branch as quick as Keed's and Jerry's, and now I have got at it I find it a very difficult task, for it is a new thing for me to write to ladies, in addition to all this The acquaintance between us being my term of service in the war But there is a commencement to everything they say and so there must be a commencement of writing to ladies, in addition to all this The acquaintance between us being of a very limited nature makes it difficult to write anything that will interest you But when I do the best I can I trust you will bear with the dullness thereof Your note as well as Lucretia's was as surprising to me as it was cheering and welcome and as I believe I mentioned to Jerry once, every such manifestation of friendship on the part of those that we left behind us helps to increase our courage and remove to a great extent the lonesomeness and troubles which crosses our pathway with such backers and companions as we have in the

army with us and knowing that we have the sympathy of nearly all in the North and a number in the South, it would be almost impossible for the greatest coward to be anything but a brave man here, and then believing that God is on our side and feeling that we have such prayers as you prayed in your letter that God would prosper us and bring us off victoriously and restore peace to our country once more, we are enabled to have stronger hopes that we shall succeed, and the war be closed sooner than though we only were dependent on our own strength and though some of us may come to our end on the field, it is good to feel that we die in a glorious cause, a cause on which not only depends to a great extent in the success thereof the happiness not only of us that live at present, but the future generations throughout the world but I forbear on saying anymore on this subject for I know that it is deeds that are expected of us soldiers and not words, and I have been talking all my life for the cause of liberty but now the time is nigh at hand when I shall have a chance to aid by deed this cause and I shrink not from doing my duty. We have in our regiment seven ladies, namely the wife of the Colonel, the wives of four of the Captains, the daughter of the Surgeon and Miss Eliza T Wilson who is styled the daughter of the regiment Miss Wilson is the daughter of a wealthy mill owner at Menomonee There is one company in our regiment (the pinery rifles) which is composed almost wholly of men who have been a long time in her fathers employ and she accompanied them to camp and has been with the regiment ever since I understand she is engaged to the orderly sargeant of the company She goes in bloomer costume acts as hospital assistant and is a noble hearted girl Some of the boys have raised one hundred and fifty dollars for the purpose of purchasing a gold watch to present her, There is continual movement of troops in this vicinity Three months volunteers going home, and three years volunteers coming out We feel somewhat disheartened over the news of the death of Gen Lyon and the partial defeat of our troops in Missouri, but we do not despair of success there finally, though the western division of the army is separated by a distance from us it has in the person of Gen Fremont a leader than whom we believe there is no better commander lives at the present day I would wish that this could be as interesting to you as yours was to me but I have no such

hope I close by repeating the request that I made to Keed that I may hear from you and her often

I remain your friend

JAMES H LEONARD[2]

HEADQUARTERS FIFTH REGT., WIS VOL CAMP ADVANCE CO. A
FAIRFAX CO VIRGINIA Sept 12th 1861

MISS M E SHELDON

I now find myself seated for the purpose of once more writing to you With my knapsack as a chair and my bayonet for a candlestick I proceed to work, We still lie in the same place as at the date of my letter to Lucretia, We had an engagement yesterday at Falls Church vicinity There was a couple of rebel batteries erected there, and they were supported by a number of infantry and cavalry, Our forces or rather a detachment of them were sent out for the purpose of capturing them, The rebels retreated at their first appearance, but rallied again and made a desperate effort to flank our troops but did not succeed, The Commanding General of our forces, General Smith, then invited them to come out of the woods and give battle on the open field, To this they would not consent but immediately opened fire on the union forces which was returned in good earnest from our side and their batteries were soon silenced, they retreated through the woods and could not again be found and We were left in quiet possession of the field, and where the flag of treason waved in the morning We planted the Star Spangled Banner in the afternoon, I say *We*, but in this case I am like a great many folks in the world who can always spell *We* without an *I* in it * * * By *We* I mean the whole Union Force and not our regiment, for we had no part in the battle which lasted but a short time, We were marched out in a hurry as were several other regiments, but the artillery which went ahead of us had finished the work and our regiment arrived on the ground just in time to be too late We were a little sore after walking so far in such a hurry and then not do any good, but it was well enough as it was, and we marched back to our quarters again The loss of the U S troops were Seven killed Six wounded and Three

[2] The above letter was enclosed in a small envelope bearing the picture of a globe with a draped figure, representing the United States, wrapped in the flag and surmounted by an eagle, beneath which is the inscription "Wrapt in its folds the WHOLE COUNTRY shines resplendent through its Stars."

missing The loss of the Secesh is estimated at over one hundred but is not known for certain Those who have charge of the matter here did not intend to have another Bull Run affair, for want of reinforcements, as in two hours from the firing of the first gun, there were no less than Seventy Thousand Soldiers on the march for the scene of action by various routes, This, the first opportunity that has been had of testing the judgment and ability of Gen McClellan as commander in chief of the forces here, though small as it was, goes to show that the confidence which is had in him has not been misplaced With such men in supreme command as McClellan, Wool, and Fremont, and such a man, at the head of the government, to guide the whole, as Abraham Lincoln, I think that none have any reason to doubt as to the result, that is if the people of the North will only leave the work in their hands, and quit finding fault and growling, and complaining about their doings as are a large portion of the Northern press continually, when at the same time they thus find fault, they know not what they are finding fault with, All the good that this growling at the movements of those who have charge of the matter, does, is to remove the courage from the hearts of thousands of the brave soldiers, who are on the tented field, and also to keep back others from enlisting, who otherwise would, And it is evident that everything that those in power at Washington have undertaken, and which has been ramsacked to pieces and the intentions of the administration misplaced, and thus caused to be murmured at, everything I say that they have undertaken has come out successfully in the end and then it is invariably that those who have been loudest in denunciation of their measures have come out strongest in their praise I have strained on this matter, while I suppose I might perhaps have found something more interesting for a letter, but I had just set down after reading an article in the Manitowoc Pilot in this same complaining style which somewhat disgusted me, and I had to give vent to my feelings a little, besides I want to let my friends know that I have a confidence in Lincoln, Scott, Cameron, & Fremont & McClellan and I hope they have also I also see in the same paper an article, that the Administration disapproved of the recent proclamation of Gen Fremont declaring martial law throughout Missouri and giving freedom to the slaves of rebel masters, while it is well known here that it meets the approbation of the administration fully, To

day we arrested a spy inside our lines This we did have a hand in for the arrest was made by Lieutenant Walker, myself and one other private of the Manitowoc Co Gaurds, He had about him a pass from L. P. Walker the Secretary of War of the Confederate States allowing him to pass their posts everywhere also several other papers of importance We took him to the headquarters of General Smith where he was recognized as one who had taken the oath of allegiance to the U S government twice already This shows what regard these fellows have for an oath, The President and Lady were out here to view our work day before yesterday I with a dozen others of our boys had the honor of shaking hands, and holding a short conversation with him, He was as free with us poor soldier boys as though he was one of us, I have made such poor composition and so many mistakes in this, that I should go to work and write a new one had I the time but I have not, to night and I shall not have time to morrow, as Co A [h]as to go out as escort to the engineers, it is kind of good to have a great name and I like to belong to a company that has a great name, but the Manitowoc Guards have too good a name for their own good for they have such a great name that they have to do about everything that is to be done, Whenever the General wants an escort, or the surveyors want a gaurd or almost anything else, it is pretty Certain that Co A of Fifth Wisconsin will be called on and thus we are kept going about all the time while other companies have lots of time to rest

* * *

Camp Griffin Nov 5th 1861

Miss M E Sheldon

I received yours of October 27th and was happy to hear from you as I am at all times to hear from home and as it is sometime since any correspondence has passed between us I reply to your letter at once though I know I have nothing that will interest you as nothing new has taken place here lately Through the mercies of our Heavenly Father I am still enjoying good health and the other Branch boys also except Aaron who has suffered from a severe cold during the past few days but is recovering now He is promoted to Corporal now, not a very important office to be sure, but still his getting the appointment shows that he performs his duty well and that his services are appreciated The Branch boys are all in one

tent now I and Aaron have been together in tenting and everything else ever since we left Manitowoc and last week I worked it so as to get Jim Whealan in with us, and by thus getting all in one tent it seems more like home to us The other members of our tent are Frank Greenman George Croissant and R Dukelow Our tents are getting rather worse for wear they leak very bad now when it rains which is very often, I dont know what we will do if we have to stay in them through the winter but of this it is useless to trouble ourselves, for sufficient unto, the day is the evil thereof, and it becomes us not to borrow trouble from the future when we know not whether the trouble will ever come upon us or not We live middling well here for the present We have hard crackers for breakfast, hard crackers for dinner and for supper we have hard crackers. This however is only about half the time, The other half we have soft bread from the government bakery at Washington, which goes very good though a loaf of home made bread would taste far better We have also a middling share of meat, beans, rice, hominy, coffee and sugar furnished us by government In our tent we have a treasury into which each one in the tent puts in about two dollars per month and with this fund we keep ourselves liberally supplied with, butter, Molasses potatoes tea, milk, when we are near farmers where we can buy it, and other luxuries and thus we make it go very well and have no reason to complain as far as eating is concerned at all

There has no change taken place in our army here of late except the retirement of Lieutenant General Scott from the supreme command of the army and the assuming of the supreme command by Gen McClellan and while we regret the loss of the services and the advantage of the experience of Scott we can but rejoice that we have a man to take his place who promises so well by his services and deeds in the past as does Gen McClellan and it is to be hoped that the Lord will guide and prosper him and the army under him and that the people will not be disappointed in their expectations from him But they must not judge of him too hastily or accuse him of being slow before they understand matters fully They must know that there is great preparations to be made and I am sure no one wants him to march his army on when they are only partly ready We have not ignorant men to contend with but men educated in the same school and in the same course of life with our own Generals There

was never a war of the same magnitude as this that progressed any faster in the beginning,

I see Manitowoc County is doing tip top in turning out Soldiers for the war I was afraid at one time that Waldo would not get his company filled, but I am glad both for his sake and the credit of the county that it is filled and from a long, familiar, confidential acquaintance with him I am satisfied that he will make a good officer, and Likewise his Second Lieut D A Shove with whom I was probably more intimately acquainted than any other person in Manitowoc.

* * *

Camp Griffin Dec 5th 1861

Respected Friend

I received your welcome letter last Sunday evening, and at that time I proposed to answer it the next morning but when morning came with it came an order for Co A to go out on a scouting expedition which occupied all that day, the next day we had to go out again and today I with thirteen others were designated to chop wood for the use of the General and the members of his staff and for fear I may again [be] deprived of the opportunity of answering your letter to morrow I have determined to set down and do so this evening I am always too happy to receive letters from my friends, to delay very long in writing back to them, the more especially as I know the longer I delay in writing, the longer it will be before I hear from them again, and when I have an unanswered letter on my hands I feel as though part of my duty was undone I have often thought, as regards writing to you, the same as you expressed in your last letter, but I have consoled myself with the idea that I would do the best I could and trusted to your good nature to bear with it and it always gives me fresh courage to hear from my friends As I think of the friends that are at home which I do every day, how much more cheering it is to know that those friends are unanimous in their opinions on the questions which now are at issue and to know that I have the well wishes of them all not only for myself but for the cause of my country I say how much *more* cheering is it to k[n]ow this than though they were divided in their opinions and we had the sympathies of only half of them Well now for the news from this neighborhood which there is not much to tell of however Things are as yet comparatively quiet, and for aught I know they will remain so for a

time The scouting expeditions which I mentioned at the commencement of these lines were the first duty aside from drilling and picket and the other regular camp duties, that we have done for some time The one of Monday was for the purpose of foraging, this consisted of five companies from our regiment and three from the 6th Maine and one from the 3d Vermont under the command of Lieut Col Brisband, We were in the vicinity of Fairfax Court House, We see no signs of any secesh, anywhere, We got considerable hay &c for Uncle Sam, besides some chickens, ducks, geese, and other luxuries for ourselves some of the boys paid for what they got and some did not, Tuesday the expedition from this division consisted of some twenty five hundred men under the command of Capt Mott of Motts Battery This was for the purpose of acting jointly with similar expeditions from the divisions of General McCall and General Porter for the purpose of surrounding and capturing a body of rebel cavalry supposed to number about fifteen hundred which had been seen several times of late in the vicinity of Hunters Mills about eight miles from our lines in the direction of Leesburgh, We got around on all sides of the place and closed in upon it, but they were not there We scouted the woods in the vicinity but could discover no signs of them, so we returned to our camp pretty well tired out and without having captured any secessionists, but in the room thereof the most of us catched bad colds and pretty severe sore throats Disease seems to increase among us of late There is a much larger number of our regiment on the sick list at present than was ever before The Small Pox is raging in some regiments on the left of the line it has not yet found its way into any of the regiments in our immediate neighborhood Occasionally we receive in our midst one of those warnings which remind us that death is liable to come upon us as well *off* as *on* the battle field, But we have not had near so many cases of death in our regiment as in some others Thus far we have had only six deaths I had no idea there were so many dying around me as there is Last Sunday I took a stroll over to the place where the dead of our division have been buried since we came to Camp Griffin which is not quite two months and I was a little surprised to find on counting the graves, that out of our division numbering fourteen regiments there had been some one hundred and eighty four deaths There graves are almost as nice as they are in our public

burying grounds and each one has a board at the head with the name, age, and native place of the party on also the regiment to which he belonged, and this together with the place of their burial is also registered on a book in the Secretary of War's office in Washington, so that if their friends should wish to obtain their bodies, they can readily find out there whereabouts Last Thursday being Thanksgiving Day in our state we kept it here in our camp, that is we done no duty for that day, We, that is a few of us, held a prayer meeting in the afternoon, but the most of the boys spent the day as they do the most of their leisure time in gambling Gov Randall was with us in the evening and tarried with us till the following afternoon Judge A Scott Sloan was with us Sunday evening and made a brief but pointed address to the regiment on the questions involved in the war, Congress has got to work now in the city and we may probably expect some lively debates on the differences of opinion held by them on various questions The Presidents message is liked very much here It is not stretched out as have been the messages of late Presidents into a long string of political harangues, and arguments, but is filled wholly with sound and wise recommendations It all reads as coming from a man who is wholly a statesman and who is governed wholly by the desire to serve his country and to do good The capture of Messrs Mason and Slidell, so our prisoners say is the severest blow that has yet come upon the rebels, This with the capture of Port Royal, the effectually blockading of Charleston, Savannah, and other Southern ports by sinking stone boats in their mouths the other expeditions fitting out to go on the Southern coast, and the large expedition which is now nearly ready to start down the Mississippi should satisfy us all that the government is really in earnest and teach all to wait patiently

* * *

Camp Griffin Jan 11th 1862

Miss Sheldon

I received your interesting letter of the 29th of Dec and was very glad to hear from you again and to learn that you and all of your folks were well How true is the old verse

Time fast slips away
First by moments, then the day
Short the time appears
But it soon amounts to years

To look back it seems but a very short time since the commencement of the year 1861, and as I passed away the hours of January of last year pleasantly in the old log school house at Spring Creek, little did I think that the following New Year would find me on a tented field in Virginia or that such a war would be upon our country as now is. To be sure Secession had commenced and was strutting [a]broad in the land at that time, and we had an old simpleton in the presidential chair, who seemed to care but little what became of the country or its interests, but rather on the contrary seemed all along to sympathize with, and give aid to those that were endeavoring to overthrow our government, but still we hoped that the difficulties would be settled in peace We waited anxiously for the inauguration of the new President and after Mr Lincoln had taken his seat, we still hoped for peace and we did not relinquish this hope until the rebels opened their guns on the small half starved garrison in Fort Sumpter and when the war commenced then nor for a long time afterward did we think that it would ever reach such an altitude as it has come to, * * *

The weather is more like May than it is like January We had one cold night, the night of the 7th inst, it froze severely, but commenced to thaw again the next day, and in the evening it commenced to rain and kept it up until this morning, making out an old fashioned, down east, three days storm, The news here is still the same, viz nothing done I think we had better take the old cry of the Crimean war, Sebastapol aint taken yet, and alter it so as to have it read *Manassas* aint taken yet, to suit *us*, and to suit the rebels it should read *Washington* ain't taken yet

I am off duty again having caught another severe cold on the one I already had by going on a foraging expedition on the 7th I am not sorry I went however for I learnt considerable I see preperation for a great battle all laid out and everything put in position for a big fight, There was some thirty two regiments numbering about twenty three thousand men, comprising the divisions of Gens Smith, McCall, and part of the division of Gen Porter and two regts of Cavalry and five batteries of artillery belonging to those divisions, the whole was under the command of Gen Smith There was along

with the troops about three hundred, four horse teams and wagon and they all returned home loaded with oats, corn, wheat in the sheaf hay &c We were out to within three miles of the enemys encampments at Centreville, which we could see quite plainly, The regiments were scattered all over to the right and left so as to prevent the enemy from flanking the advance column, but no sight was seen of any enemy, We were out with the farthest, Gen Smith or Gen Hancock would not think of going toward the enemys lines without having Co A of the 5th Wisconsin along with them

Co B & Co G were also out on the advance the rest of our regiment took the part of flankers back some ways. We had to march pretty lively going out and got in a perspiration and after getting to our journeys end we had to stand still for about three hours and thus many of us caught cold, I wish that the Secesh would come as near to our lines with such an expedition for the purpose of stealing our hay &c I am strongly inclined to the idea that they would go back minus a few men and teams There are two German members of our Co in the hospital here and one member, Albert Payne, has been some time in the union hospital in the city of Georgetown We have not heard from him since he went there. * * * I scarcely know what to think concerning our affairs with England She seems determined to pick a quarrel with us, I hope to see it avoided if it can be done honorably, but the mind of nearly everyone in the army here, is to go to war with her in preference to dishonoring ourselves to please her; We had the pleasure during the past week, of eating some cake, preserves, &c that came from Manitowoc, I had a good share in the lot, a present from Mrs Goodenow, We have a regular school in our tent almost every evening There are fourteen of us in it Once in a while we have a spelling school in which all of the Americans in our company take a part, I have to act as teacher, I am more competent for a scholar, but the rest of the boys insisted on my taking the position and for the sake of getting the thing started I accepted it, We have lots of time, and can benefit ourselves greatly and at the same time keep ourselves out of mischief The school is not very orderly, there is considerable laughing and talking and I cannot punish them because I do about as much of it as any of them, The branches that we exercise in are Spelling, Reading, & Ciphering I would get a sett of books all through and study, but we know not how

soon we will have to move nor how often and we have enough clothes to carry to make a good heavy load and consequently could not carry the books Christmas and New Years is past and we still remain here, We now begin to speculate as to whether we will be home by the 4th of July

* * *

Camp Griffin March 9th 1862

Miss Sheldon

I received your letter of Feb 23d and now proceed to return the compliment as far as I am able There is but little to write about as is usual here and in addition to this fact I do not feel in a very lively mood I have come in off picket this morning having had a three days job of it Thursday morning I went on in place of another man whom I knew was not really able to go on, The next day was my own turn and so I remained on and the next morning the brigade went out on a reconnaissance and when the time came that we should have been relieved an aid of the Generals came out and informed us that we would have to remain on gaurd until the troops returned and so we settled down for another twenty four hours

I and the rest of the Manitowoc Co boys are well, there is not one of them in the hospital at present I guess Spring has commenced here now To day is as fine a day as I ever have seen, it seems too nice a day almost, to spend in camp The last few days have also been very pleasant, it would be first rate sugar weather, were it in Wisconsin I should like very much to be home for a few days during sugar season and share in the pleasures of the same, I sometimes feel satisfied that the war will be ended and the volunteers return home by next harvest time while at other times it looks gloomy and I think if we get home by next Spring we will be doing well, We are in continual excitement and have expectations of moving towards Manassas all the while, We have orders about two or three times every week to pack up and get ready to move but still we do not move, There has no very important movement taken place on the Potomac of late except the crossing of Gen Banks division into Virginia week before last and the taking of the rebel stronghold Leesburg last Friday You will see the account of the latter in the papers which I will send you at the same time that I mail this The rebels seem to be well drilled in

running, The signs of the times at present seem to indicate that this army here is to fight sooner or later the battle that is to decide the war, but in time of war all signs fail and nothing is certain that is not fully in the grasp, a man can scarcely believe his own eyes here I never was in a place before where a man could not depend on anything, I should not be at all surprised if some morning should find Manassas evacuated and the Jeff Davis Government on its way from Richmond to some more Southern point * * * I understand one of our company wrote to Jane Eatough that I was the only one in our company who did not drink liquor This is a libel on the company for there is full one half of the company that I am positive have not tasted a drop of liquor since they have been in camp, my two companions from the Branch included in this number and it is only once in a great while that any of them get any for Gen McClellan does not allow the soldiers to have it,

* * *

Camp No 20 in the Field

Near Chickahominy River June 15th [1862]

Friend Mary

Your last letter was duly received a few days since I had almost given up all ideas of ever hearing from you again except by way of others, but you are perfectly excusable for the delay, I have no important news to communicate and therefore despair of any hope of interesting you in these lines however I will do the best I can under the circumstances

I am enjoying good health as yet There is considerable sickness though in our army which appears to be increasing Those of us who are blessed with good health have great reason to feel grateful to God for sickness in the army is above all sad events the least desirable When one is sick, his own companions have so much duty devolving on them that they have scarcely any time to help him and the Surgeons care but little for him and very often his own mates sneer at and make *light* of him I have known of cases in our regiment where boys have been lingering under sickness and finally died whilst Surgeons and the officers and members of their own companies have kept

up the cry that they were playing sick for the purpose of getting rid of duty but I am happy to say that no such occurrence has ever transpired in *Co A* We still lie in the same place as when I last wrote to Jerry with the exception that we have moved back a few rods, The rebels got a little saucy and commenced throwing over shells occasionally, they killed one man and wounded another, both cavalryman, which is a small loss considering the number of shots they have fired, Gen Hancock deemed it advisable to move back from the open field in which we were encamped into the woods where we would have protection, Last Friday Gen Smith sent word to Gen McClellan in regard to this rebel battery an dasked permission to go over with his division and capture it but McClellan refused, as *that* would be apt to bring on a general engagement, which he did not wish for yet, The rebels show every sign of making a determined resistance here, but as they done the same at Yorktown laboring on new fortifications up to almost the very night on which they evacuated, it would not surprise us in the least to find them leaving here yet without a fight, Yesterday being Sunday and having nothing else to do I took a stroll over the recent battle ground at Fair Oaks, it was a fearful sight Trees, Fences, Bushes, and every thing around is literally torn to pieces with Bulletts and Shell, The signs of the terrible slaughter were yet to be seen on the ground and the fields were filled with the graves of both Union and Secesh Soldiers Our men being buried on *one* side and the Southerners on the *other* As I looked upon the graves of the Union men I thought of the many mothers, sisters, brothers, wives, and children, that were probably at that time weeping for them, and whose only comfort was the assurance that they had died in a good cause, and the hopes of meeting them in happiness in the world, to come, and as in turn I gazed upon the graves of the poor Southerners who had fallen in this fight, I could but think that *they* as well as others had left those at home who esteemed and loved them and whose hearts were now saddened, and the sorrow of their friends must be all the sadder, because that posterity shall write over them, *Sincere, and self-sacrificing, but misguided victims to a causeless* and *therefore wicked rebellion* The graves of every soldier here seemed to cry out for punishment on those who instigated this war The leaders of this rebellion must receive that punishment which is justly

theirs, Mercy to *them* would be *Cruelty* to *Civilization* We have got our fortifications at this point finished, and are now to work at building roads, and bridges, We had two distinguished visitors to our camp last week—viz—Gen Prim the commander of the Spanish forces recently sent to Mexico, and Gen Burnside who commands our forces in North Carolina They were both received with the accustomed military salutes and with the cheers of the Soldiers, which latter, especially were heartily given for the Gallant Burnside for whom this army has more respect than any other General excepting of course our *own McClellan* General Prim reviewed the army and complimented the appearance and discipline of the Soldiers very highly He said he thought that our army was all composed of green men but on the contrary he found it equal to any of the best trained armies of Europe He also complimented the strategy of Gen McClellan at Yorktown very highly, Reinforcements are arriving here every day I know not how much our army here numbers now Deserters from the rebels, report their army as in very poor condition, living on half rations &c Gen Lee, who now commands them, in the absence of Gen Johnston, who was wounded in the late battle, made a speech to his army a few days ago in which he told them that they had made their last retreat and henceforth their watchword must be victory or death.

* * *

Camp Near Aquia Creek
Virginia Dec 1st 1862

Friend Mary

I received a letter from Keed last week, and as I had written a letter to her a few days before, I concluded to answer her letter by writing to you judging it a good opportunity of reopening correspondence with you, Perhaps you will think it a curious way of doing business, but it will pass in war There is so little transpiring here of any importance, that it becomes exceedingly difficult to write a letter that will prove interesting, I trust you will pardon the dullness of this one, I seldom have to stop and study for something to write but I am compelled to do so this time, We lay perfectly quiet here as much so as though we had no enemy to contend

with. We are in the Left Grand Wing or Division which is in the rear at present I have not seen a rebel or loaded my gun since I have been here, the right of our army rests on the Rappahannock opposite the city of Fredericksburg, Gen Sumner demanded the surrender of that city ten days ago, giving them sixteen hours to remove the women, children, sick, and aged, at the expiration of which time he was to shell the town unless it was surrendered as demanded, It was not surrendered and still stands without being bombarded There are various reasons given for this delay but nobody except our leaders know for certain what causes it, some think it is on account of supplies, some think that we are waiting for some other force (the Banks Expedition perhaps) that is going to cooperate with us, while others think that this is merely a feint to attract their attention this way and that Gen Burnside intends to suddenly transfer his forces by means of transports to the other side of Richmond in the vicinity of Suffolk &c This last idea seems to be the opinion of the Richmond papers also, Yesterday and To day there has been a rumor circulated through camp to the effect that there was an Armistice for forty days between the two armies, Also another one that our division was going into Winter quarters here and gaurd the Railroad I as yet do not believe either report, but I would wish that the *latter*, might prove true The weather here is very changeable just now; about half and half; The inhabitants in this neighborhood are awful hard up, I am satisfied that they will suffer dreadfully this winter Last Friday I was on picket I had the charge of four posts, one of them was at a house in which lived a man with his wife a[nd] five small children and if there ever was destitution in a house, there was in that one He had nothing but about six bushels of corn on which to live Our forces under Gen Pope took part of his produce last fall and after Pope retreated the rebels took pretty much all that remained He told me that he knew of some 9 families around the heads of which were in the rebel army and the folks had nothing Virginians will be all used up if the war lasts another year,

* * *

Camp Near White's Church,
Virginia, Dec 28th 1862

Dear Friend

* * * We are laying in our old camp yet where we have been since the recent defeat at Fredericksburg It seems to be the general opinion that this army will do nothing more this winter, however we cannot tell Some of us have prepared comfortable winter quarters for ourselves, Sergeant Goodwin, Sergeant Ennert and Myself have built us a log cabin of which many a poor family in Wisconsin might be proud of, If we do not have to move or change camp, we three are all right until spring, There is quite a change in our opinions and wishes since this time last year, then we laid in Winter quarters on the Potomac and were all the time grumbling because we were not put in the field in active service, now all hands are anxious to be ordered into Winter quarters, this change of ideas has been purchased at a dear rate, and the army cannot be blamed for it Since the late battle at this point everything has looked dark to *me* and I have almost given up the last hope, I trust you had as good a time on Christmas as you expected, it was rather a dull time here, it was a real pleasant day though, Our Christmas meals consisted of the following (that is our tent and the rest were about the same) Crackers, Coffee, & Pork for Breakfast, Pork, coffee & crackers for dinner, and Coffee, crackers & pork for supper, In the afternoon I received a visit from some of my old schoolmates who are in the 1st Long Island regiment, this took off part of the lonesomeness of the day, I have received an invitation to spend New Years with some acquaintances in the 31st N Y and expect to have something of a good time, unless some unforeseen event should prevent it Not quite as good as though I were at home But I have no cause of complaint after having been permitted to enjoy so long a visit at home as *I was* allowed last fall, while so many of my companions were enduring the fatigues of long marches and battles God Grant that in his providence this may be the last New Years that we shall have to spend in the army, Those of us who are here, have great reason to praise God for his goodness to us in preserving our lives and permitting us to enjoy as good health as we do while others equally as good and some better are suffering from wounds received in battle,

and thousands of others have offered their lives on the altar of their country, or I should say *Our* Country I perceive by the papers that the Congressional Committee has concluded their investigation as to the cause of the late disaster at Fredericksburg The result is that all of the officers clear themselves and nobody is held to blame for it Well that is the way all these things come out in the end I think that if they had left us our old General (Little Mac) we should not now been mourning over a bad defeat, Not but I consider Gen Burnside a true man and a man of great ability, but do not consider him capable of handling so large a body of men as the Army of the Potomac, Our Colonel who has been with us since the regiment was first formed has resigned and taken his leave of us It seemed hard to us to have him go, We have none of our original field officers left now, Our Second Lieutenant James Macomber has also resigned and leaves us in a couple of days He was my tent mate all last spring and summer and it seems like losing a brother to have him go, There are so many of the old hands leaving and new recruits come in that it scarcely seems like the same regiment,

* * *

Camp Near Belle Plains Va
April 1st 1863

Miss Sheldon

Your interesting letter of March 14th reached me yesterday and was read with much satisfaction Your excuse for the delay in answering my former letter is a good one and is accepted I know the duties of a school marm require about all of her attention and then she can hardly do justice, and if she has a contrary set of scholars to deal with, it is so much the worse for her, it is almost as bad as having to act as Sergeant of the Gaurd around camp here, The Sergeant has the whole gaurd numbering thirty six men under his command, they are divided into three reliefs of twelve men each, one of these reliefs is on post at a time, and the Sergeant is required to keep the rest at the gaurd station, not allowing more than two to be gone at any one time and should the Officer of the day, the General or the Colonel or any of the field officers happen around and find more than two men absent, the Sergeant is liable to be punished,

The men all know this but still they will be contrary and you have to keep your eye on them all the while or they are bound to steal away from you and go to their quarters The Sergeant hates to come down on them for he is thus liable to gain their ill will and he will be talked of all through the camp by them, as big of his feelings putting on style &c, still they all know that he is obliged to thus retain them in order to save his own head, I have been on sometimes this winter when I believe that it would have tried the patience of Job to be Sergeant of the Gaurd, at any rate it has used mine all up and a long ways beyond sometimes, I always dread being detailed for camp gaurd on brigade and division gaurds it is easier because there is a Lieutenant over you on *them*, and he must stand all responsibilities We still remain in our old place as when I wrote you before, The weather has been very, very, severe of late, There is four inches of snow on the ground at the present time and the weather out doors is freezing cold, talk about your winters in the sunny south, but I never see it any worse at this time of year anywhere that I have ever been We expected to march about ten days ago and our officers made us pack up our overcoats and all the extra blankets which we did not need for summer, to be sent to Washington to be stored until next fall We all wish now that we had them back again, at any rate I am mighty glad that we did not march for it would be rather tough to lay in line of battle some of these nights Yesterday was kept in Solemnity through this army in honor to the memory of Maj Gen Sumner He was very much respected by this army, of which he has been one of the chief officers from the time of its organization to a very short time previous to his death Though we shall never again witness his old grey head as he rides along our lines, we have his example left us, and his name will be remembered as long as the American army has a place in history. You speak of your fear of the negroes that are freed coming up north I think that there is but very little danger of that, Southern climate is better suited to them and if they can live there as free people and get paid for their labor they will stay there in preference to going up North For my part I want to see the whole of them out of the country altogether, The idea is preached by the copperheads up north that we are now fighting to free the slaves, the exact reverse is true, We free the

slaves to stop the fighting I was over to the 6th Wis last week [to] see Dr. Preston, he is Brigade Surgeon now, his health has improved very much of late, he looks much better than when he was home last fall he told me that he had sent for Frank and expected him out here in a few days

Henry Baetz the Captain of the German company that left Manitowoc last fall, is now Major of the 26th Wisconsin We have considerable sports in our camp in the way of jumping playing ball &c and once in a while we have a lively game at snowballing with three or four hundred in the game at once Occasionally they get up a dance in the evenings at which lots of the boys enjoy themselves There are about forty of my old schoolmates in the 15th N Y and I have made many a good visit with them this winter, it is very pleasant to set down and chat about our old play times and laugh over the quarrels we had then

As regards war news there is none here We are eagerly watching the papers in hopes to hear of the fall of Vicksburg, if Gen Grant succeeds in Capturing that point and opening the Mississippi it will be a hard blow to rebeldom and will go a great ways towards ending the war, This is the first day of April and the boys have practiced much of the April fool on each other, My health is good and also all in our company with whom you are acquainted Aaron Gibson is now 2nd Lieutenant of our company,

* * *

Camp Near White Oak Church
May 14th 1863

Dear Friend

Having to day to myself I will endeavor to pen a few lines to you in answer to your last, which I read with much pleasure,

We are once more safely stowed away in camp in almost the same place that we were encamped last winter when Burnside was in command Everything is agreeable and pleasant except that it seems lonesome at times, We miss very much the familiar voices and jovialness of many old comrades who were killed and wounded in the late battle, in the squad over which I have charge, there were eighteen previous to the crossing of the river and now there is only

seven, Every American in it was either killed or wounded, I can hardly make myself believe that our boys were killed, it seems more like a dream than a reality, with the exception of this sorrow for our fallen comrades those of us that are left are in good health and good spirits, and just as ready to meet the enemy now as ever we were I never knew the boys to come out of a fight so little discouraged as at the present, excepting after the battle of Williamsburg The fact of the case is, though we did come back to this side of the river We do not consider ourselves as whipped by a considerable, The enemy got punished far worse than we did on every occasion save one, that was when the Germans of the 11th Corps played the part of cowards and ran at the first volley Those that were engaged in the fight on the right at Chancellorsville say that they had to retire on account of the rapid rise in the river and creeks which impeded their progress, Where we of the 6th Corps were, on the left I know, it was desperate enough, especially on the occasion of the storming of St Mareye's Heights on Sunday the 3d inst and the battle in the Wilderness on the 4th, The rebel papers claim the latter as a victory but admit that it was the dearest bought victory to them of the whole war They had us surrounded with all of our communications cut off in short they had us penned up in a twenty acre lot, the force opposed to us was heavily reinforced and largely outnumbered us, they were sure that they were going to get our whole force as prisoners, but they had got hold of the wrong bird this time, they pitched in first at one point, then at another but they never drove us back a foot anywhere, Our batterys made fearful havoc among them mowing them down by hundreds, After repulsing them at every point through the day we cut our way through them at night and recrossed the river, after driving them from their strong intrenchments in the rear of Fredericksburg and losing so many men I felt as though I would just about as live died as to withdraw again without having accomplished our object, but once on this side and learning all particulars I was well satisfied that it was the best that could have been done They have not used our regiment very well though, they have broken up the Light Brigade and have assigned us to a strange division This is the second time they have done this, We were first, in the famous old Hancock Brigade which gained a great reputation and was

known all over the army East and West Last winter we were put into the Light Brigade, commonly called the Flying Division, and just as this institution had gained a great name it was broken up, One consolation however we have, they let our old hand to hand comrades of the 6th Maine go along with us, We could not enjoy war without them, nor they without us. Richmond Papers of Monday convey the intelligence of the death of Stonewall Jackson from wounds received in the late battles Over this news I must admit that I have both feelings of joy and feelings of sorrow, Joy at the fact that the rebellion is ridden of one of its ablest leaders, and sorrow in the loss to the world of so brave and virtuous a man, Rebel though he was, he was gallant and manly, and was admired, by every one that ever had anything to do with him, for his noble qualities, He was one of those many instances recorded in the worlds history, of a good man, being deceived, into lending himself to a bad cause, Now that he no longer can harm us, we can but say, peace to his ashes, Last Sunday General Lee sent over to Gen Hooker requesting him to send over and take care of the wounded that were left behind, as he, Lee, had not Surgeons and medicine enough for his own men scarcely, and the cause of humanity demanded that the wounded should be taken care of at once, By this it would appear that the rebels were getting a little more civilized than they were, A year ago they would kill our wounded on the field, The weather of the last few days has been rather warmer than was necessary for comfort The trees are just leaved out and every thing looks green and nice, the inhabitants here, what few are left, say that it is the latest spring they ever see in this state We are encamped in a nice grove at present, There is not enough of the regiment left to make a respectable appearance on drill, so all the duty that we have is a recitation school of the commissioned officers in the forenoon and of the Sergeants in the afternoon We generally do not have our lessons very well, I never could content myself to set down and study the tactics yet, it is the only study that I ever undertook, that I could not get interested in and nearly all the sergeants say they are in the same fix The only reason I can assign for this is that we all calculate to get out of military life as soon as possible and after our time is out, the knowledge of the tactics will be of no benefit to us * * *

Let me state a simple instance as regards myself and the late election that took place in Co. A for Chief Justice of Wisconsin The morning of election day the Captain and Lieutenants asked me and the Orderly our opinion in regard to holding an election, The Captain was rather against it, fearing that very few of the boys would vote as was the case last fall, I almost sided with him but I and the Orderly both advised to open a poll, and take what votes could be got, He finally consented to commence on the condition that I would act as runner and speak to, or rather electioneer the boys in the company, I declined at first, advising the selection of some one who as I thought had more influence than myself Finally however I consented just to satisfy the Captain and Lieutenant but satisfied in my own mind that I could accomplish but little I went to work and first brought up all those whom I knew to be sure and then I set at those who were a little wavering or careless and by some talking got them up, then I went at those who are true Union men but still cling to party, all that was needed with them, was to satisfy them that Mr Cothren was a Copperhead and we had the papers to do that The result was that 53 votes were polled every man in the company voting who was old enough, save one before the polls were opened I would not have believed that 30 votes could be obtained unless he set some one to work who had more influence than me, I wish though that I could have more influence in the temperance cause here Whiskey rations are occasionally dealt out now and I am the only one in our Co who does not use his ration, it is rather embarrassing to thus be an odd member of a family with the rest joking you on the matter, but I have withstood these temptations thus far and I hope by the sustaining grace of God to hold out firm to the end.

* * *

New York August 8th 1863

Much Respected Friend

Yours of July 26th was received yesterday, and was glad to hear that you and all friends were well, and I have the pleasure of informing you that I also am still in the enjoyment of this great blessing of the Almighty, good health, Since I last wrote you we have changed our base somewhat The 5th Wis is no longer part and parcel of

the Army of the Potomac We were sent to New York a week ago, we were informed at that time that it was for the purpose of tending to the rioters here and enforcing the draft It is now believed by our officers that we will remain here all the rest of our term, should it be so, I assure you none of us will be very sorry, two years in the front with such campaigning as we have had is enough to satisfy the ambition of almost any soldier, They have put us to drilling at heavy artillery, on Governors Island, there are two forts on the Island, Fort Columbus and Castle Williams, they mount guns of all sizes from thirty two pounders to two hundred pounders, I have charge of a sixty four pounder, we have named it the Lady Washington there are eight men and a sergeant to each piece, The 1st Massachusetts is here with us, They are first rate fellows, but I would rather have our old comrades of the 6th Maine with us, they have been our right hand men in every battle, we were always as brothers together and it comes hard for us to be seperated The other two regiments that came with us, the 20th Indiana and the 37th Massachusetts have been sent to Fort Hamilton some five miles from here there is great preperations going on here; building new defences, strengthening and enlarging the old ones mounting heavier guns &c &c &c, it looks very much as though our Government had strong suspicions of a foreign war, a couple of months more and Mr Johnny Bull and Mr Louis Napoleon will find a very nice time of it if they endeavor to approach N Y with any of their men of war I think they had better let American affairs alone and hope that they will so do Everything goes brisk and lively here I should judge so at least, by the boat loads of excursionists of both sexes that go down the bay here every day The war is not felt here at all you may say, I am not of a very jealous disposition, I like to see everybody enjoy themselves, but I must say that it is a little provoking to see how these thousands of young men hereabouts *are*, and *have been* enjoying themselves while we have been marching lying in swamps and having a tough time of it in general and now when some of them are wanted to go to the assistance of those that have been fighting for them for over two years, they get up a row and resist the governmental authorities, We have had a couple of very hot days since we have been here, Last Tuesday the thermometer stood ninety six in the shade and

131 in the sun, there were a number of cases of sun stroke in the cities, Generally though there is a cool breeze comes off the bay which makes it tolerable pleasant, We have got rid of our little shelter tents and are provided with good tents and sleeping apparatuses, it seems good to have a tent that we can stand up in &c instead of having to lie down all the time as in the shelter tents

We also are provided with better food than we have been used to receiving and likewise we can get the soldiers extras, butter, milk, &c at reasonable prices, There is however considerable disease among the boys caused partly by change of water and climate but mostly I think from a too free use of liquor and beer on the road here and since they have been on the Island, I have been unable to get over to N Y yet, but day before yesterday I got a pass to Brooklyn and went out on a visit to my brothers widow, I could only stay about three hours as I had to be back in twelve hours from the time of leaving, so that it was not much of a visit, it does not seem so much like home here as I thought it would though it is delightful to get among among old acquaintances, schoolmates & companions of our childhood, but having been away so long Wisconsin seems the most like home to me, and it is there that I long to get back to, I have traveled considerable at Uncle Sams expense but I never expected that he would send me to these parts, he has however and I hope he will let us remain at this post until he sees fit to send us to Wisconsin, None of us are very anxious for service in Virginia again

* * *

Goshen N Y Oct 8th 1863

Mary

* * * As you will perceive by the heading of this letter we are now in Goshen Orange County N Y, We came to this point day before yesterday, the purpose is to enforce the draft which is now taking place and preserve order &c Goshen is a place of about six thousand inhabitants and famous for the largest dairies in the U S We are now having a good time drinking the Orange Co milk and eating some of the famous Goshen butter The latter is excellent I tell you and comes in double good play as compared with the third class butter that we have been in the habit of getting, in the army and at N Y

and at Albany also it was about impossible for us to buy any good butter, here it is given to us, have the best living here that we have had any place since leaving Wisconsin The Union people here were very glad to see us come, some of them had got prepared to move away the same evening we came Everything is quiet now but there is little doubt that had there been no soldiers sent to this point, there would have been a serious disturbance, The Copperheads are largely in the majority in the City and in addition to these, there is a large number of Irish employed on the Erie Rail Road which runs through here and they would all have joined in the affair, especially if they once got a little whiskey in them

I do not think we will stay here any longer than this week, where we will then go it is impossible for me to tell at present, perhaps to Virginia but I hope not, I am willing to go anywheres that I am ordered but still I have a choice of service and would rather stay in N Y City, I was never so tired of any place out of Virginia before the war or since it commenced as I was of Albany A meaner people in general I never came across There were of course some honorable exceptions but they were few,

Time flies pretty swiftly with us here but I have seen the time that it dragged very slow, it seemed as though a week was long enough for two months, it still however looks quite a while ahead to the end of our term especially if they keep us until July instead of May next as the talk now is that they will so do, however if the Lord preserves our health it will not be long in passing and then it will fill our hearts with joy to greet our friends once more I wish I could say as you do that scarcely an hour passes but I accomplish something, there is day after day passes that I accomplish scarcely anything, do but very little good to myself or any one else, it is hard to spend such a valuable part of my life in such a way but it is the will of the Lord that it should be so and I feel that I am doing my duty and nothing more, You wish to know if I have any hope of the war being ended soon, I have a hope that nine months will see the fighting over and that one year from now will see peace fully restored and the stars and stripes waving in triumph over all of our broad country and proclaiming protection and liberty to all, who come under its folds * * *

I think there is but little danger of any foreign nations pitching in now, The defeat of Gen Rosecrans (if defeat it can be called) only checked us for a few days, and Bragg was defeated in his object, as much as Rosecrans was in his, and according to all accounts his loss was heavier In Albany when the news first came that our forces had been driven back you would hear rejoicing and laughing over it all over the city Some of the 5th got into rows with some of them and gave them a good threshing, and as much as we may be opposed to fighting in general we cannot blame our boys, to hear the slaughter and defeat of our comrades in the field chuckled over and made sport of is more than our natures can endure and furthermore I do not think it is our duty to endure such conduct and conversation in our presence The disaster that I and most of the soldiers fear the most is that these copperhead party may succeed in carrying the elections in two or three of the large states through lies and misrepresentations and thus assist in prolonging the war by working against the Authorities at Washington But I pray the Lord for the best

* * *

Havenwood Hospital
Washington Dec 13th 1863

Respected Friend

Your letter of Nov 2nd after a long delay which neither you or I could prevent reached me some four days ago and I now proceed to scribble off a few lines in return I hardly think I will be able to make out a letter, As I wrote in my letter to Keed I am getting along very well though not as fast as I expected It has rained all day yesterday and so far today which makes it very gloomy and the damp air doesnt agree with our wounds, it makes them pain far worse than usual, it fairly makes me ache all over just as I have heard some old folks complain of the rheumatism, my arm aches so that it is difficult for me to write, but I determined that I would not put off writing to you beyond to day, for I know the sooner I write, the sooner I will stand a chance to get a letter from you again; I wish you success in your new school, though I suppose it is rather hard for Louisa to lose your company up in that lonesome region; For her sake I would wish that you had again got the Kossuth school,

I have not heard from my company for some time but guess that what is left of them are getting along well, Those of them that are wounded are in other hospitals than this and I have not learned how they are getting along, there are some of our regiment here but none of our company, Two wounded rebels are in the same ward with me. they receive just the same treatment as our own men, they are both very associable fellows, live in New Orleans, One of them named Adams was formerly from Philadelphia, he is a very smart intelligent young man and thus is quite a contrast to the most of the Southern soldiers; His father is a Commodore in our navy and his brother is a Captain in the same service, they have both been here to see him, He is a secessionist of the most extreme kind, he says he thinks we will conquer them but he will never live under our government again, he will go to England or South America; The papers state that the Army of the Potomac are now going into winter quarters, it is also rumored that Gen Meade is to be removed from the command and that his successor will be either Gen Hooker or Gen Thomas, I do not think Gen Meade has yet done anything for which he should be removed, but if he is to be I think that the army would be well satisfied to get Hooker back, The victories in the west give great joy here; To the Army of the Potomac it is highly satisfactory as it has given a fair chance for a comparison of the fighting qualities of the Eastern and Western armies To *us*, especially those of us from the Western states it has been extremely mortifying as we have from time to time read extracts from home papers reflecting on this army and bragging on the armies of Grant and Rosecrans as superior to us, It is true they have been more successful in what they have undertaken than we have been but they have not fought under the disadvantages that we have, and it is a source of pride to us that in the last battle in Tennessee, the soldiers of the 11th & 12th Corps which are a part of this army proved themselves as brave and competent as did the soldiers of the other armies, neither are we ashamed of the gallant conduct of the 9th Corps which went west with Gen Burnside; I have seen letters from the 3d Wis in the 12th Corps in which they say that they find a vast difference between the *unwilling conscripts* of Braggs army and the willing volunteers of Lees Army in Virginia We have just received the message

of President Lincoln and also the message of the so called President Davis, I notice considerable difference in their tone, the former is wrote in the language of a Gentleman and is full of cheerfulness and encouragement; the latter is a strain of sorrow intermingled with anger and continual complaint,

You inquire if I rejoice over the result of the recent elections, most certainly I do, they have greatly increased our faith of ultimate success, Last year when the elections in New York Penn & other states went against the Union party, it caused a cloud of gloom to come over the whole army and many of them were ready to give up in despair, and when followed by the disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg which took place just one year ago today, the boys lost nearly all confidence, but a great change has been wrought since, it is but another proof of the old adage

> The mills of God grind slow
> But they grind exceeding sure.

I repeat the following language of Rev Henry Ward Beecher

We find transcendent mercies intermingled with our afflictions Our night has been long, its hours dark, its dreams troubled and its watchings most weary, but it has had its stars too, and they have led on the morning whose twilight is already on the hills Our day is at hand, The nation is to live, it has gone through severe trial, it has been tested in fire and has come out safe

Not the strength of our hand but the strength of our heart is the sign that God means to save us, Not only the increasing military successes, but also the growth of popular determination as manifested in the late elections, that victory shall represent political liberty these are the signs of the future and in these signs we shal conquer May God hasten on the day

* * *

Near Petersburg Va
June 26th 1864

Miss Sheldon

I now commence to write you a letter according to promise, but I must admit that after having delayed so long I feel ashamed to write

at all, An arduous, long, and overburdening campaign together with declining health, have kept me so that I have not felt much like writing or doing anything else, except what I was obliged for to do; had I remained on duty at the front I should probably ere this been sick in hospital, but I happened to be fortunate enough to get the chance of going to the rear and making out the discharge papers of the regiment prior to its being mustered out of the service on the twelfth of next month. So I have a pretty quiet time of it, and manage to keep up though. I feel about threefourths sick all the while, The weather is *exceedingly* and *Tremendously* hot and fearfully dry, the ground is fairly baked to a crust, We have had no rain since—well I cannot remember when, I learn that you are suffering in Wisconsin the same way; Notwithstanding the hot weather and drouth, the battle rages here all the while, While I write the roar of artillery from the battlefield around Petersburg is continually sounding in my ear, Fearful have been the losses thus far in the contest, and thousands more must probably be added to the list before the object of the campaign is attained but the end must come in due time, The Capture of Richmond may not take place for the next three months, it may not take place this season, but fall it eventually must before Grant and Meade get through with it This has been a hard campaign, The wonder is that so many have stood it through so far, Never has the history of any war contained an account of such a steady perseverance on one part or such a stubborn resistance on the other part as has been manifested by the Union and Rebel armies in this campaign, Aaron Gibson is back again, having recovered from his wound which was a slight one on the top of the head. There are now eighteen men for duty in Co A I hope and trust they may all come out safe and sound, it seems awful hard for the boys to have to risk their lives now when their time is so near up We have twenty eight of the old men all told, sick, well, wounded, & detached, to go home to Manitowoc, providing no more get killed,

* * *

Miss Mary

As my time is so near out and this is probably the last letter that will ever pass between us I cannot seal it up without enclosing to you

my heartfelt thanks for the favor you have done me by corresponding with me during my period of service in the army, Many a time have your letters helped to drive away the lonesomeness of camp life and mak[e] bright and joyful, hours which otherwise would have been dark and weary; For this favor I shall always feel grateful, and hereafter in whatever part of the world I may be whenever I think of my soldiers life, those will be remembered who aided and cheered my spirits during that life, foremost among which I may mention yourself Keed, Sarah Gibson &c—

Yours Truly
J H Leonard

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

GENERAL GRANT AND EARLY GALENA[1]

I was born near Philadelphia, in 1830, a descendant of the Welsh who settled in that region more than two hundred years ago. In 1846 I accompanied my parents, sister, and three brothers to the territory of Wisconsin, settling near Platteville. My good parents have long since been gathered to their fathers, but their five children, who came west with them, survive, a remarkable record. I question whether this can be equalled by any other Wisconsin family. My sister, Mrs. Sarah Westrop of Madison, is the eldest and past ninety; I am in my eighty-ninth year; brother T. Elwood Evans of Cumberland, Iowa, is eighty-seven; brother George T. Evans of Belmont, Wisconsin, is eighty-five; while the youngest, Henry Clay Evans of Chattanooga, Tennessee, is seventy-six. The last-named went south after seeing service in the Civil War and has since made a national reputation as congressman, commissioner of pensions, and manufacturer. We all keep in touch with one another, and though H. C. is farthest away, he writes me regularly no matter whether he may be in Europe or America. We are proud of one another and think we have a right to be.

When I arrived in southwestern Wisconsin, Galena was the great trading and shipping center of this section. It had large wholesale and retail establishments, and its now deserted levee was then crowded with large steamboats, which brought merchandise and passengers from St. Louis and other down-river towns and carried back lead and other products of early Wisconsin. Indeed in 1836 to 1846, when Chicago was a mud flat covered with flimsy wooden buildings, Galena was a substantial place with large stone and brick warehouses and elegant stone churches, a number of which are still in service, although constructed more than eighty years ago. But the railroads and new towns springing up caused the decline of Galena which, in 1856,

[1] This article, the recollections of Mr. J. H. Evans of Platteville, was written out by J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha, after an interview with Mr. Evans in February, 1919.

GALENA IN 1856

From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Li

boasted fifteen thousand people, three times the present population. Platteville according to the last school census has now passed her ancient metropolis.

Still I like to think of the past glories of Galena, for when I was engaged in business at Platteville sixty years ago I had close business relations with its leading merchants. And there were some big men there in those times. One of the most famous Americans the country has ever produced used to call on me just before the Civil War. I well remember my first introduction to him. Together with another county official I had been at Madison fruitlessly lobbying for the election to the United States Senate of C. C. Washburn; while returning by team to Lancaster we were accosted at midnight by two men in a buggy, who inquired the way. My companion recognized the voice of the speaker as that of Brown, a Galena salesman, who then introduced us in the dark to his partner, Captain U. S. Grant. It was too dark to distinguish his features, but some time afterward Mr. L. S. Felt, one of the leading merchants of Galena, brought Grant into my store at Platteville and again introduced me to him. I offered them a cigar, but Grant did not smoke his, simply chewing it and throwing it away. I met Captain Grant frequently thereafter, for he sold leather and bought hides in our section for his father's branch tannery at Galena.

Although Grant was paid but a small salary by the firm of Grant and Perkins, and lived in a modest brick house for which he paid $15 a month rent, he had strong friends among the leading men of Galena, who evidently recognized the latent worth in the unassuming, quiet captain. Foremost among these were Congressman E. B. Washburne; A. L. Chetlain, dealer in queensware; L. S. Felt, dry goods merchant; B. H. Campbell, grocer; J. Russell Jones, a partner of Campbell; John A. Rawlins, a young lawyer; W. R. Rowley, clerk of court; John E. Smith, jeweler; J. A. Maltby, gunsmith, and Colonel Porter, a West Point man, then superintending the erection of the postoffice at Galena. These were Grant's intimate friends, whom he met almost daily when in town; and he made nearly all of them officers in the army or in civil life. John Aaron Rawlins, who at the outbreak of the war made a great Union address at Galena at which Grant presided, was later his chief of staff, when the bonds of friendship were still more closely cemented. He was deserving of all the

honors showered upon him, including a membership in Grant's cabinet as secretary of war. Chetlain became a major general. Felt, one of Grant's most intimate friends, was offered the position of collector of the port of New York, but declined the honor. Campbell was appointed United States marshal of Illinois; while Jones was made minister to Belgium. Rowley and Maltby became brigadier generals; as did John E. Smith, who made a pretty good one too. Porter, who was partly of Oneida Indian blood, served on General Grant's staff and he surely was a good one. Washburne, who represented the Galena district in Congress from 1852 to 1869, was for a short time secretary of state under Grant, but later distinguished himself as minister to France.

Grant was loyal to his friends even though these did not always measure up to the positions conferred upon them. Withal, his Galena chums were a credit to him, as history testifies. Washburne and Rawlins ranked well above the average among the men in public life in those stirring days.

Shortly after the battle of Corinth I saw General Grant coming out of a photograph gallery at Memphis, Tennessee; I immediately entered and ordered a copy of the picture just taken. I have treasured this picture all these years, but now I turn it over to the Historical Society. I met Grant at Vicksburg, Memphis, and at other points during the Civil War, but the last time I saw him was right here in Platteville, in 1868. He surely created a bigger sensation than when he used to come to our little city as a traveling salesman less than ten years before. Some who had known him as a modest, reserved man never could believe in his greatness, notwithstanding his achievements. But I knew and admired him and I am proud of the Mississippi Valley which produced him and most of the great leaders of the Civil War.

I like to think of old Platteville and the stirring times before and during the Civil War. I saw many notable men of those early days at Major Rountree's home. His wife was a cousin of my mother. Among these I recall the poet Percival, who died in 1856 and was buried at Hazel Green. He was a frail, quiet, uncommunicative man of sixty, then geologist of the state. Really, I could name by the score the prominent men whom I met in early Wisconsin. General Grant, however, stands uppermost in my mind.

EARLY ADVERTISING POLICY OF THE RACINE *ADVOCATE*

In connection with the movement in recent years against patent medicine advertising, it is interesting to note that two of our early editors in Wisconsin were far in advance of their time in this respect.

Marshall M. Strong was editor of the Racine *Advocate* from October, 1843 until June, 1845. In the issue of February 27, 1844 he writes that it is "difficult to sustain the paper in the course which we at first marked out; we excluded at once a large and profitable class of advertisements." That Mr. Strong meant patent medicine advertising is evident from an examination of the files of the *Advocate*. Previous to his control we find two full columns advertising "German Eye Water" and "Bilious Pills," both of which entirely disappeared after he became editor. Later, finding no doubt that it was "difficult to sustain the paper," he apparently yielded to necessity and admitted one column of advertisements including a corn cure, cough medicines, and the ubiquitous German eyewater much curtailed.

When he ceased his immediate connection with the paper and Philo White became editor there was a marked change of policy, for four columns of this "profitable" advertising occupied important places in the paper and continued to do so until another change in the editorship in March, 1846 brought Mr. J. C. Bunner into the chair. Mr. Bunner seems to have adopted very much the same policy as Mr. Strong, refusing after a few issues to accept any more yearly advertisements by either the column or the half column. Again all patent medicine advertisements entirely disappeared from the *Advocate*.

Neither of these editors stated his reasons for excluding any particular class of advertisements; but it is reasonable to suppose that both of them at least felt that long columns of such advertisements did not add to the dignity nor worth of the paper. Mr. Strong had a very clear idea of the value of good advertising. "What gives one a higher idea of the business of a place than a busy-looking advertising sheet, and what a poorer idea than a dull, black looking sheet with large old type, containing a few stale advertisements and

the rest occupied with prospectuses of newspapers, magazines and Lady's books." Feb. 20, 1844.

Mr. Bunner, in the issue of May 12, 1846, objected to the practice of some book publishers of using the free mailing privileges extended to newspapers for sending books with lists of testimonials to be advertised. This he considers an abuse of privilege as well as an insult to editors and adds that "the puffing system has of late years been carried to so great an extreme that we believe it is beginning to react. Books are rarely produced except under a cloud of puffs * * * We trust that in this part of the country, the press will join us in trying to put an end to it, otherwise readers will pass over our opinions * * * with supreme contempt."

These precursors of the "swat the lie" campaign deserve special credit, since every newspaper in their day had a serious struggle for existence; paying subscribers were few, and it was necessary to rely largely on what little advertising they could secure for support.

KATE E. LEVI

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION LETTERS

In June, 1919 the Society mailed to its members and exchanges the first volume of the documentary history of Wisconsin's constitution which is now in course of publication. Volume II has been in the hands of the state printer for several months, and the remaining volumes in the series will follow in due order. The publication, therefore, of the following letters, recently uncovered among the manuscripts of the Historical Library, seems timely and appropriate.

Henry S. Baird, author of the first, was one of Wisconsin's leading men throughout the first generation of American occupation of the state. The reminiscences of his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Baird, published in volumes XIV and XV of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* bid fair to become a classic in the literature of the Old Northwest. The present letter of Mr. Baird is a familiar one to his daughter Louise, written from Madison at the close of the second week of the first constitutional convention.

Our second letter was written by Chauncey Kellogg, who had been a member of the first convention, to Andrew B. Jackson, a member of the second convention. Other matters aside, its principal

interest at the present time lies in the discussion of the subject of Americanization of alien elements in our population. It serves to call attention anew to the fact, which most people are prone to ignore, that this subject has been of perennial interest in Wisconsin, its discussion antedating even the birth of the state. Had the sound views of Mr. Kellogg and of others who thought with him prevailed in the forties the state would have been spared the Bennett Law upheaval of the late eighties and much discord and travail since that time.

Madison October 18, 1846.

My Dear Louise,

I was much gratified to receive yours of the 7th, I hope you will continue to favor me with a weekly bulletin, and that hereafter you will not be so hard run for news to fill your sheet—I have to-day written two long letters, to your Ma & Lizzy; besides two business letters, wherefore you must not expect a very long epistle this time. Indeed you must not expect *me* to be as punctual in our correspondence as I shall require you to be; for altho' your household cares may be considerable, yet as you have the aid of Mrs Polly, you must be a good deal relieved & your burthens much lightened—On the other hand I am constantly engaged in public duties each day from 9 O'clock until dark, and can find no leisure but on sundays for letter writing—You will see by the papers which I send, how we are progressing; I take it for granted, you see, that you *read* the papers, —& should not be surprised to find when I return that you have kept pace with the action of our Honorable Body, & will have the provisions of the Constitution at your *finger;* no I mean your *tongue's end.* I received your letter & your ma's of the 11th at the same time, last evening; I also recd. a paper from Sammy; I will send him documents from time to time for publication—Eliza writes that your Aunt is still at Milwaukee, having returned from the country, after a visit of 2 or 3 days in a fit of the *Blues;* she expects Mr. D— soon when they will return to the Prairie[1]—& as they will pass this way I will see them I hope—

[1] Prairie du Chien.

The notorious *Vineyard*, who you know is a member of the Convention, did not make his appearance until 3 or 4 days since; he looks depressed & guilty—and receives no attention from any one. Altho well acquainted with him in former times, I have not met him face to face or spoken to him since his arrival; our seats are but a few feet apart, & he has several times passed me in going to his seat, but I have not noticed him—What a heart must that man have, my Dear Louise, who could ever think of meeting in a deliberative assembly *in that room;* for it is in the same council Hall, where that horrid tradgedy was enacted, that we sit—! Yes! and the *assasin sits within ten feet of the spot where fell his victim ! !* and he has doubtless more than once, since his arrival, trodden on the stain upon the plank (which would be visible, but for the carpet that hides it from view) caused by the blood of poor Arndt—! ! But we will leave him to his *conscience*, & this I have no doubt is his accuser; altho he has to outward appearance escaped *human* punishment, yet I doubt not but the canker-worm of remorse, weighs heavy on his heart, if it be not made of stone.[2]

Our mess, which I before told you consisted of seven persons, is a very agreeable set of gentlemen; we all agree remarkably well & have a good deal of amusement and joviality — Our days are occupied solely at the Capitol, but we spend our evenings sociably, either in conversation or playing whist or Ucre,— We are most comfortably situated, and are well taken care of by our kind & good hostess—Mrs Shackelford is a general favorite with us all & is entitled to our esteem & admiration—If you could prepare & send over, before I leave, some little presents for her little Collins & Amelia, they would doubtless be much pleased—The latter is quite a favorite with me; Poor little girl, she cannot realize her loss! I deeply feel

[2] James R. Vineyard of Grant County and Charles C. P. Arndt of Green Bay were members of the Territorial Council. In the winter of 1842 during an altercation on the floor of the chamber Vineyard shot and killed Arndt, although the two men had previously been friends. The vest through which the fatal bullet sped to the breast of Arndt may now be seen in the Wisconsin Historical Museum. Vineyard offered his resignation to the Council which declined to receive it and proceeded to expel him. On criminal trial for the killing of Arndt, however, he was acquitted. Evidently he retained the esteem of his neighbors, for a few years later he was elected to the constitutional convention of 1846, and still later to the legislature of 1849. The letter of Mr. Baird shows in what light his presence there was viewed by at least some members of the body. Vineyard removed to California in 1850 and died there thirteen years later.

for them both. This afternoon Mr. Agry & myself took a long walk of about 3 miles, & I feel quite refreshed from it, after two weeks close confinement in a room possessing no very great attractions— Today has been most beautiful fall weather; the air pure & bracing, & its very appearance enough to banish sickness—Indeed the health of the place & country is much improved—Several of our members have not yet appeared, owing to sickness of themselves or families— Our largest number yet assembled is 106—this makes quite a formidable show, & the general appearance of the Body respectable—But few are over 50 years of age, & from that age to 30—Mrs Shackelford told me last evening that a lady of her acquaintance had paid *us* (I mean Mrs. S-s boarders) quite a compliment, saying that she had got the *cream of the convention;* but this is mere talk you know Louise, & does not in the least raise our vanity, but it is well enough *to tell it,* for fear it *would otherwise never be known.* To-morrow morning we will again have up the old exciting subject of Banks, & we hope it will be then finally disposed of, when we can go at something else — I met Thomas Daily here soon after I arrived; he lives about 4 miles out of town — He has been quite sick, as well as his family — I have not seen James Lemon or Margaret, as the[y] live about 12 miles from here — Mr. Irwin has I suppose again gone to St. Louis; I expected he would have come this way — Why has not Capt. Cotton come on as he expected to do? I wish you to give my love to all the girls, Marie J., Libb, &c. &c. Mrs. Irwin, Mary Ann—in short to all of the ladies of my acquaintance both young & old, *who enquire about me,* as well as respects to all friends — In your letters you say nothing about the general health of the Bay; I hope it has improved — It is now nearly 10 O'clock at night & I will close for the present, & perhaps add a line before I mail this — Love to Ma, Grandpa & Grandma & Holmes & lots of kisses for yourself — and believe me Dear Louise, most affectionately your,

Father.

Tuesday—

You have not mentioned in your letter anything about "Batty" or "prince", I hope they are both well; present my compliments— The weather here has become quite winter like; yesterday we had a flurry of snow, which if it had lain would have whitened the ground—

This morning is clear & cold; & ice has made its appearance; this we all hail as a harbinger of health—and we already feel its genial influence—Affectionately your &c —

[Endorsed] Henry S. Baird to his daughter.

19th Jany [1848]

Dear Sir

Yours of Jany 8 came to hand by yesterdays mail with 2 papers—the first thing you notice is that Dr Judd talks as much as Ever[3]

I would sugest that you raise a special Committee to enquire how much he has cost the Territory in the 2 conventions more than the majority of members and that the Excess be charged over to Dodge County You say that the boundery line will probably be fixed some 40 miles North of the congressional line this I verry much regret I would prefer by far that it should be from a hundred to a hundred and 40 South — Your action on the Malitia Article meets my approval it is just where I sought to put it last year — but the adoption of Mr. Shoefflers[4] motion on the subject of common Schools permiting schools in certain cases to be taught in other than the English language is to me and Every one with whom I have spoken on the subject very obnoxious we ought to Americanise all Foreigners and nothing will tend more to this End than to have them taught the prevailing language I hope you will see it consistant with your views to do your endavours to prevent such a principal from being fixed in the Constitution

I would write more but I fear I shall be to late for the mail—written in the utmost haste for the above reason

Your friend

Chauncey Kellogg

[3] Stoddard Judd of Fox Lake, Dodge County, was one of the few men who sat in both of Wisconsin's constitutional conventions. He was much interested in railroad development and was president for a time of the Milwaukee and La Crosse Railroad, the second to cross the state.

[4] Moritz Schoeffler of Milwaukee, who was a native of Germany, came to America in 1842 and to Milwaukee two years later. He established there in 1844 the *Banner*, Wisconsin's first German newspaper, and for thirty years continued one of the prominent German-American journalists of the country. Mr. Schoeffler was an ardent advocate of statehood for Wisconsin and a prominent leader of German-American opinion in the state.

P S if there is any of the Journals of last convention to be had please get me a Copy

I should like also one of this if so it Mought be

-My respects to the Racine Deligation also if convenient to Mrs Brigham and family

[Addressed to] Hon A. B. Jackson Member Constitutional Convention Madison

[Postmarked] Sylvania W. T. Jany 19

EDITORIAL

A CRITIC AND A CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER

In the June issue of the MAGAZINE was noted the joint legislative investigation of the conduct of the Historical Society, comment thereon being reserved until the committee should have completed its hearings and made its report. That report was made to the legislature on June 12, and the time is ripe to afford the members of the Society an account of the committee's findings and of the circumstances responsible for the investigation. Any public institution is a fair mark for criticism and, particularly if it be of a constructive character, such criticism may be of much good to the institution at which it is aimed. Whether the criticism to which the Historical Society has recently been subject has been of a constructive character we leave to the discrimination of our readers to determine. In so far as practicable we present the story through the medium of original documents, but to the understanding of these a short introduction is essential.

In the autumn of 1916 Mr. Publius V. Lawson of Menasha, a member of the Society and long a patron of the Historical Library, requested the loan of certain volumes which the rules of the library prohibited sending away from the building. Displeased with this, Mr. Lawson indicated his intention of carrying the matter to the state legislature. Thus began a persistent campaign of criticism of the Society which has now continued for two and a half years. Repeated hearings have been had before legislative committees, a widespread solicitation of state officials and private citizens has been conducted, the matter of Mr. Lawson's complaints has been before the curators of the Society on numerous occasions, and widespread publicity has been accorded them by

the press of the state. The failure to convince any of the many committees which passed upon his complaints that they possessed validity or merit, however, has not operated in any way to decrease Mr. Lawson's zeal in prosecuting them. Meanwhile, a mass of misinformation was gradually being disseminated over the state, which in the long run must prove harmful to the Society. At the recent session of the legislature two bills were introduced, fathered by Mr. Lawson, which those responsible for the administration of the Society believed would affect injuriously its interests. Accordingly the legislature was invited to make a thorough investigation of the Society's affairs, with a view to determining authoritatively the matters at issue. The invitation was acceded to, and in May and June a committee composed of Senators Roethe and Pullen and Representatives S. R. Webster, Hineman, and Roethel conducted exhaustive hearings, taking several hundred pages of testimony. Mr. Lawson appeared before the committee in the capacity of complainant and was afforded unlimited opportunity to present his case and to adduce evidence in support of it. He stated that the only complaint "which I have ever made is that certain books in the library which are now withheld from loaning over the state of Wisconsin should be loaned, and the other complaint is the anti-Wisconsin attitude of the Society in its publications." [1]

In actual practice, however, the investigation took a wide range, embracing almost every aspect of the many-sided activities of the Society. The findings of the joint committee not only completely reject the contentions of Mr. Lawson but they constitute a striking testimonial to the character of the work of the Society and its usefulness to the commonwealth. The complaints of Mr. Lawson are declared to have been inspired by "misguided zeal," and to be "entirely unwarranted and unjustified." In the matter of publications

[1] Stenographic record of joint committee hearing, 7.

the committee testifies its belief that the Society should possess "broad discretionary powers"; it recognizes the fact that the history of Wisconsin cannot be made separate and distinct from other history; to limit the Society's publications to events that transpired within the present state boundaries would be, the committee declares, "illogical and undesirable"; and it finds that no publications have been issued which were not "entirely warranted."

The finding with respect to the loan of books from the library is, if possible, even more sweeping. Quite contrary to the complaint that the Society has not pursued a sufficiently liberal loaning policy, "it has, if anything, pursued a policy the committee would characterize as too liberal." The library "from its very nature is not, was not intended to be, and cannot be construed to be a circulating library." Accordingly a bill was recommended (and subsequently passed by the legislature) defining the loaning policy of the library and expressly prohibiting in future the loan of works on genealogy, newspaper files, and all rare or expensive books, maps, charts, or other material which in case of loss could not readily be replaced.

The concluding testimonial of the report, standing as the voluntary tribute of a group of impartial judges, should afford genuine gratification to every friend of the Society and should increase the satisfaction of every member over his connection with it: "The committee finds the affairs of the Society, financially and in every other respect, most excellently managed, with a staff, members of which have been with the Society for a score of years or more and whose work to them has become more a labor of love for the institution and its success than for the pecuniary remuneration they receive * * * The committee does not hesitate to say that every member thereof was not only profoundly impressed but actually amazed to find it such a big, comprehensive, serviceable, and helpful institution in which the state may

take intense pride, and the committee hopes that every citizen of the state may find opportunity to visit the library and see from a personal inspection what a wonderful institution Wisconsin possesses in its State Historical Society."

Notwithstanding this sweeping approval of the management of the Society Mr. Lawson finds in the report a complete vindication of his criticisms. In a letter supplied to many leading papers of the state he assures the public that "the only two contentions made in the complaint of the conduct of the Historical Society were sustained by the legislative investigating committee." Members of the Society who take the trouble to compare this letter of Mr. Lawson with the committee report upon which it is based will thereby forewarn themselves against undue disturbance over future criticisms of the Society which may emanate from the same source. We subjoin the documents which are most pertinent to an understanding of the entire subject.

DOCUMENTS

No. 1: Petition to the Legislature of 1917[2]

Menasha, Wis., Jan. 27, 1917.

My Dear Mr. Hart:

I am writing you about a subject we are interested in as long time citizens of Wisconsin, that is its historical records.

The Historical Society of Wisconsin has singularly failed of its purpose. It has been appropriated millions of dollars by the state, and while it never has done much in writing up the history of the state, it has in the last three years given up state history entirely and published numerous works on the history of Virginia, the Ohio river region, and Lewis and Clark expedition up the Missouri River. It has in preparation other works on the same subject, and in addition proposes to add books on the Gold Seekers of California and numerous works on Kentucky, Virginia, and Pittsburg.

[2] This was sent as a letter to Assemblyman Hart, who offered it as a petition to the Assembly. The copy given here is taken from the Madison *Democrat* of January 30, 1917.

The publication of its foreign material has cost in labor of preparation, proof reading, printing and binding about $20,000 annually, and in meantime Wisconsin history is sidetracked and abandoned. The legislature never intended this use of its money and this foreign matter publication is all illegal and not wanted by anyone.

Names of some of these books of foreign matter that in no way concerns our state history are:

Preston and Virginia, dated 1916
Frontier Along Ohio, dated 1916
Lewis and Ordway (up Missouri) 1915

Also as to uses of the library of the State Historical Library. The building cost the state $770,000 and the library about $5,000,000. Heretofore the books have been loaned to people all over the state, the borrower paying the expenses of course. That was the purpose of the library and the reason of the support given by the legislature.

Now by an order just passed by the advisory committee, the loaning of books outside of the building is discontinued. Hereafter books will not be loaned. That order reduces the library to a mere city library of Madison and cuts out all use of the library unless upstate people can take the time to visit the building at Madison, as books cannot be taken from the building. The Superintendent (who is not a Wisconsin man and not acquainted with the purpose of the Society) declares he proposes to make the library purely a reference library, same as the library of Congress.

As it may be difficult and possibly unwise to defeat any appropriation for the State Historical Society it could be cut down.

Also, there should be a proviso attached to its appropriation reading like this:

"Provided the said Society shall loan in any part of the state at the expense of the borrower for transportation, any of its volumes for a reasonable time, not to exceed two weeks.

Also said Society shall not use any of said funds in the preparation or editing or publication of any works, either bound or unbound, except such as pertain to the history of Wisconsin.

Also no such funds shall be used for the expenses of the annual address unless the same concerns the history of Wisconsin.

Also no part of said funds may be expended to promote historical enterprise other than such as concern the history of Wisconsin."

Yours truly,

PUBLIUS V. LAWSON

[To ASSEMBLYMAN HART]

No. 2: REJOINDER TO MR. LAWSON'S PETITION

HON. CHARLES F. HART,
State Capitol,
City.

MY DEAR SIR:

For your information and that of other members of the legislature I beg leave to direct your attention to a highly erroneous statement concerning the State Historical Society which was offered by you to the Assembly in the form of a petition on January 29. If deemed proper, I respectfully request that this communication may be placed before the legislature in the same way as the petition referred to.

In general your petitioner asserts that during the last three years (which happens to be the period of my administration of the Society) a marked change in the ideals and policies of the Society has taken place, as a result of which its interests have become entirely divorced from the subject of state history and its funds are being spent illegally on "foreign" projects; furthermore, that from being a library whose collections are loaned freely all over the state the executive board of the Society has recently prohibited the loan of all books, thus reducing it to the status of a Madison city library. In particular, numerous detailed statements are made designed to illustrate these general propositions.

With respect to this petition I regret to say that while not every one of your petitioner's detailed assertions is erroneous, most of them are, and that the net effect of the petition is totally misleading. In venturing to call your attention to these errors my purpose will be merely to show you that the Society's policy today (in the points complained of) is identical with that pursued under the administrations of my two predecessors, Draper and Thwaites.

With respect to the Society's publications it has never been the practice to confine their contents wholly within the geographical boundary of the state. The first volume ever published by the Society (in 1855) contains at least one article on the Revolution in the West. From this first volume down to the latest issue more or less material has been published pertaining to things outside the geographical boundary of the state. It will probably be conceded by any sane man that the Society could hardly do otherwise if it publishes at all. For example, how can we deal with the history of the Swiss settlement without saying something about Switzerland? Or how can we deal with the history of the Civil War without noticing some of the things which happened to Wisconsin's soldiers after they crossed the state boundary? Evidently it becomes a matter of judgment to what extent the publications of the Society shall be exclusively local and to what extent they shall take a wider range. In my own judgment (and the best scholarly opinion of the country can be cited to support me) discussions of such themes as the Revolution in the West, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and of proper indexes of the Society's own collection of manuscripts are unquestionably proper subjects to which to devote the Society's activities.

Turning to the question of the supposed illegality of the work complained of, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the Society's charter granted by the legislature in 1853 authorizes it to "ordain and enforce a constitution, by-laws, rules, and regulations," not inconsistent with the constitutions and statutes of the United States and the state of Wisconsin: and that article 1, section 1, of the Society's own constitution adopted in 1897 in pursuance of this authorization sets forth as the object of the Society "the collection, preservation, exhibition, and publication of materials for the study of history, especially the history of this state and of the Middle West; to this end, * * * publishing and otherwise diffusing information relative to the history of the region, and in general encouraging and developing within this state the study of history." Without being a lawyer I am under the impression that the foregoing is conclusive with respect to the question of legality. Whether conclusive or not it is clear that the practice which you have been informed is illegal is of over sixty years' duration and that the three secretaries of the

Society, Draper, Thwaites, and myself, as well as the numerous state officials who have in the past disbursed state funds in this connection are alike responsible for the practice.

Turning to the matter of the loan of books from the library the practice today stands on the same basis as it has always stood so far as the sources of information at my command disclose. The library has always been regarded as primarily a reference library. Along with this books have been circulated to such an extent as might be possible, having in view the general character of the library and the extension of the greatest service to the greatest number of users. There are certain classes of books which are not loaned away from the building either because of their rarity or value, or because of the consideration that the greater interest of the public is served by retaining them for use within it. There is nothing new about this policy. It is true that changing conditions and demands from time to time must be met by corresponding changes in the application of the general policy laid down. The executive committee has passed no order to my knowledge prohibiting the loan of books from the library, and there has not been a day since my administration began that books have not been out on loan. On January 29, the day you introduced your petitioner's communication, some fifty of our volumes were scattered over the state and about one hundred thirty more were in the hands of teachers and students of the University, state officials, and others here at the capital.

The reasonable limits to which this communication may extend will not permit me to note and refute all of the errors of detail contained in your petitioner's communication. I request, therefore, that my omission to note any given assertion shall not be construed as acquiescing in its accuracy.

You have been informed that in the last three years the Society has given up state history entirely. I merely note by way of comment that at the present time the state printer has in course of publication two volumes, one devoted wholly to state history (*An Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade*) and the other chiefly to the history of the state; and further that there has not been a single instant during the three years of my administration during which one or more works on the history of the state has not been under preparation.

You have been told that the cost of this "foreign" work is about $20,000 annually. For the reason that the work is inextricably bound up in the general administration of the Society it is not possible for me to give a precise statement of the sums spent annually on that portion complained of. It is perfectly safe to say, however, that it does not exceed one-fifth the amount you have been informed. The detailed information upon which this estimate is based will cheerfully be placed at your disposal if you care to take the time to go into it.

You are informed that the library building cost the state $770,000 and the library itself about $5,000,000. I do not perceive that this information is at all germane to the subject under discussion, yet I advert to it by way of illustrating the carelessness of your petitioner's statements. The cost of the library building, it is true, was $770,000. There is no way of ascertaining at the present day the cost of the library through the sixty years of its existence. Since 1901, however, the appropriation for the purchase of books and similar material has totalled about $97,000. During the Civil War period nothing whatever was being spent. For the whole period from 1854-1901 it seems probable that the average expenditure did not equal or exceed one-third the amount appropriated since 1901. Assuming, however, an annual average expenditure of $6,000 for the entire sixty-three year period the total amount would be something less than $400,000 instead of the $5,000,000 you have been informed.

With respect to the advice which your petitioner gives the legislature as to the conditions which it should attach to the Society's appropriation, it may be said that in part matters of judgment only are involved. Of the wisdom of the petitioner's judgment I submit this single illustration: It is complained that the annual address in the last three years has not concerned the history of Wisconsin. The titles of the three addresses in question (the last two of which only am I personally responsible for) have been: The Treaty of Ghent—and After; The President of the United States; and Abraham Lincoln as War Statesman. Concerning the first it may be noted that both British and American armies operated in Wisconsin during the War of 1812 and that the very address complained of recounts the strenuous efforts of the British negotiators of the treaty to make

Wisconsin along with the Northwest a great Indian barrier state. With respect to the second and third I venture to observe that the president of the United States is also the president of the citizens of Wisconsin and that Abraham Lincoln was war statesman for Wisconsin as well as for the rest of the country; in short, that all three of these subjects were eminently proper for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to listen to; and that whether proper or improper they differ in no material respect from the addresses of preceding years when the administration of the Society was in other hands than my own.

In conclusion, permit me to remind you that in the Historical Library the state possesses one of the great reference libraries of the country, recognized as such far and wide by scholars. It is not questioned that the legislature has the right either to destroy it or to revolutionize it at its option. The measures aimed at by your petitioner amount not to a reform, but to a revolution. On every proper occasion I have urged members of the legislature to visit the library and acquaint themselves with its operation. I desire to improve the present opportunity to extend this invitation to you personally and through you to every member of the present state legislature. Until you shall thus acquaint yourself with our work I respectfully suggest that it would be inadvisable on the strength of mere unfounded assertions either to revolutionize or to ruin the state's greatest library.

Very truly yours,

[Signed] M. M. Quaife

February 1, 1917.

No. 3: Forward Wisconsin[3]

By Publius V. Lawson, LL. B.

In reports of the Superintendent of the State Historical Society he says:

"It may readily be conceded that established society in Wisconsin is still too *immature*."

[3] This document, thus entitled by the author, was sent in broadcast fashion to public officials and private citizens of the state during the autumn and winter of 1918-19.

"That the citizens of Wisconsin have never individually come to the support of their historical society."

"A large portion of the citizens of Wisconsin are uninformed concerning its work, and even unaware of its existence."

The entire state has just passed through a period of reply to slander of our good name from outside, and the author of that quoted above expects a reply. Wisconsin leads the world in art, literature, education, political science, welfare laws, statesmanship, invention, mechanics, manufacture, agriculture, dairying, bred cattle, bred seeds, and medical science. In seventy years of statehood it has advanced the world most in comfort, progress and human rights of any similar commonwealth. Nothing immature about that.

As to the support of the Society: The state has built for it a beautiful marble building costing $770,000, donated something over a million dollars for its library, and much more than a million for maintenance of the Society. During the five years past the state has donated about $350,000 for maintenance, out of which the one who wrote the above libel on our people has taken about $20,000. In bequests the Society have received $114,000 during its existence. The above is a complete answer to nonsupport by our state individually and collectively.

As to the admission that the Society has not met with its expected success, and therefore the people of the state are "not aware of its existence," is unfortunately too true. The reason is obvious. The reason is its one man factor, whose work is scattered, schemeless, with no logical or natural order or design to promote the history of Wisconsin, but ranges over a rummage field, from an insult to the Pope of Rome to a "reprint" on "ginseng plant," two centuries out of date. It may interest loyal admirers of our state to look over the slack scattered and useless efforts of the Society and therein will be found the reason why the Society gets nowhere. It is to be found in its kind of publications. An annotated list of the motley disassociated subjects with a territorial range of the whole union is given below.

The purpose of founding the Society was to promote the history of Wisconsin and not to exploit the gold diggers of California, or reprint a two century old French work on ginseng, or exploit a news

article making insulting reference to the Pope. Draper in numerous addresses told how the Society was to glorify the state. Judge Baensch, its president, said four years ago, "the plan of the Society contemplates it be the people's society."

The charter of the Society limits its right to publish in these words, "to diffuse and publish information relating to the description and history of the state"—Chapter 17, Laws 1853. This right has never been changed or modified and stands the governing law of the Society today. The Society has not now and never had any right to employ its staff in editing foreign works not pertaining to the history of our state, or to publish them at expense of its taxpayers. To do so is a criminal misuse of the funds of the Society. The legislature has made the Society generous donations assuming it would conform to its foundation law and exploit the marvelous story of our state. No one ever expected it to waste its time and rich inheritance as promised by the Superintendent, "to include every important aspect of the historical field," for which "no single lifetime will suffice." To include this world history the name of its published works is changed from the well-known "collections" to "publications," and error of law, morals, and judgment that has been vigorously practiced, while work on Wisconsin history he reports as "indefinite and remote." Thus our state on the waiting list is forgotten.

The Society should have at its head one who is for our state, who loves its story and traditions. The reputation, glory, and wonderful achievements of the great pioneers of art, letters, science, and mechanics who have made our state the grandest of all commonwealths should not be left to *uninformed* strangers to record their glorious works.

A list of *illegal miscellany* and *misfit literature produced* by the *Society:*

"*Removing the Papacy to Chicago*"—a ribald jest, uncalled for, and exposing the entire schemeless fritter of present activities of the Society. Moreover the article is copied from the Chicago press without credit. It should be repudiated.

Proposed volume on *Ginseng*—a reprint of a French work of 1716, on ginseng, two centuries old. Fortunately this work of translation has been held back by the war.

Captain Pryor—8 pages—an officer in Lewis and Clark Expedition.

"*Dream of Northwest Conspiracy*"—40 pages—relates to the Civil War conspiracy of Vallandigham.

Journal of Journey Detroit to *Miamitown*, Indiana in 1790. 52 pages proceedings.

Proposed to publish "one or more volumes on California *Gold Seekers*" having procured several diaries for this purpose and advertises for more.

Journal of *Lewis and Ordway* up the Missouri River to the Pacific—a volume of 444 pages, which critics say contained nothing new as all had been published before. Cost state about $5,000. Five members of the staff labored on it for six months.

Proposed work on *Kentucky History* has employed the time of the staff for four years. Recently the Superintendent exults in getting $2,000 from Kentucky to help pay for assistance on the work. Thus calmly making of Wisconsin a print shop to edit, print, publish, and bind the history of Kentucky.

"*Chicago's First Lawsuit*"—a slave case tried in Louisiana—15 pages.

"McKay's Journal"—of journey on upper Missouri River, 24 pages, of which the Superintendent says, "It is not expected that it will prove interesting."

Reproduction of all files of *Missouri Newspapers* down to 1825.

"*The Frontier a World Problem*" in which the name of our state does not occur.

"*A Constitutional Series*" "will run to several volumes." This is the special travail of the Superintendent, "unmature" in state history and unlearned in the law—unsuspecting that "brevity is the soul of wit."

Magazine of History, should be of "Wisconsin History."

"Frontier advance on *Upper Ohio*" contains old letters of the Revolutionary war near Pittsburgh, of which four volumes have been issued costing the state about $20,000, and employed the best talent in the Society who could work wonders for our state history if permitted to do so. Two volumes more of the work is promised at the expense of Wisconsin and its history.

The *Farmer Bottomley* papers in a volume costing several thousand dollars, which was an "enterprise to which the personal attention of the Superintendent" was given, best exhibits his conception of the glorious achievements of the people of this state and why he regards them as "immature."

The *Preston Virginia* papers—a volume calendar, which the Superintendent says "is as interesting as a tax list," cost the state about $5,000. The report says: "It is expected before its termination this series will include a considerable number of volumes."

The *Annual Address* for the last five years has been made by an outsider on a subject not connected with the state.

The superintendent and staff are employed most of the time on *six periodicals* not connected with the Society, but edited, proof read and carried on at its expense and in its offices. These are:

(1) The proof reading and work due to editing the volumes brought out by the *Lakeside Press* of Chicago. State does not print the work as yet.

(2) "*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*"—a quarterly edited, and all work done by the staff. The state has not as yet been asked to print it, but the Society pays $200 to aid the work.

(3) "In like fashion it assists in making possible the publication of "Writings on *American History*."

(4) "It has donated the labor, by no means light, of editing the "Proceedings of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Society*."

(5) *Development of Chicago*—a volume edited and proof read by the staff, but state not yet asked to print.

All the information of this paper is found in reports of the Society for 1914-15-16-17.

The publication of this inappropriate material has been justified by the Superintendent by reference to the work of his predecessor, Dr. Thwaites. But the reference is an injustice. The Sons of the American Revolution paid for the three volumes of the events of the Revolution on the Upper Ohio, and Dr. Thwaites never supposed the Society was authorized to carry on publication of foreign history.

No. 4: Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Legislature to Investigate the Affairs and Management of the State Historical Society[4]

The special joint committee of the legislature appointed under joint resolution No. 48, S. to make an investigation of the management and affairs of the State Historical Society and report to the legislature, submit the following report:

The committee had exhaustive hearings on the affairs of the State Historical Society, especially as relating to complaints made by Honorable P. V. Lawson, and while admitting Mr. Lawson's deep devotion to the Society and as having only its best interests at heart, in the judgment of the committee a misguided zeal led him to make complaints that the committee finds were entirely unwarranted and unjustified.

In the opinion of the committee the Society should have broad discretionary powers in the matter of publications that it issues, and while these publications should relate primarily, of course, to the history of our own state, the committee recognizes the fact that this history cannot be made separate and distinct from other history, especially the history of the great West, of which Wisconsin was originally an integral part; and to limit historical publications to events that transpired within the present state boundaries appears illogical and undesirable. This matter should, the committee believes, be left entirely to the discretion and good judgment of the Society. The committee finds that the Society has issued no publications that were not entirely warranted.

In regard to loaning books from the library the committee believes that the Society, quite contrary to the complaint made that it has not been responsive enough in complying with requests for the loan of books and other material from the library, has if anything pursued a policy the committee would characterize as too liberal. The State Historical Library from its very nature is not, was not intended to be, and cannot be construed to be a circulating library. Many of its books are rare volumes that could not be replaced at all or only at great expense and it would seem preposterous to allow

[4] Reprinted from the Senate Journal for June 12, 1919.

these to be sent broadcast over the state. The committee is of the firm opinion that the State Historical Library was intended to be a reference library and all acts of the legislature and the wording of the charter, constitution, and by-laws of the Society seem to bear out that assertion. The rooms of the Society are open at all times to the public to secure any desired information and the committee finds that it is not even necessary for persons living outside of the capital city to come to Madison to secure the information they want but that it will be furnished on written application by the Society, the staff of which the committee finds is ready at all times to make the most thorough research of its collections to obtain and supply the information desired. The courtesy and accommodation of the staff in such inquiries for information could not be more commendable. To find books and volumes necessary for research work by parties who come to the reference library missing therefrom because they have been sent out to other points in the state would be in the opinion of the committee an ill-advised state of affairs. The practice of loaning out books has been it seems merely one established by custom. The committee recognizes the fact that there may be books, pamphlets, and other material not of intrinsic value and not of a rare nature that can with propriety be loaned out on request without detriment to the interests of the Society as an accommodation to the public, and the authority to make such loans might wisely be possessed by the Society to be exercised in its discretion and judgment subject to such rules and restrictions as may be adopted by the Society.

In the absence of statutory provisions on this subject the committee introduces and recommends for passage the following bill in order that there may be no more controversy over the loaning of books by the Society.

A BILL

To create subsection (8) of section 44.02 of the statutes, relating to the State Historical Society.

The people of the state of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1. A new subsection is added to section 44.02 of the statutes to read: (44.02) (8). To loan, in its discretion, for such periods and under such rules and restrictions as it may adopt, to libraries, educational institutions, and other organizations, or to private individuals in good standing, such books, pamphlets, or other materials that if lost or destroyed could easily and without much expense be replaced; but no work on genealogy, newspaper file, or book, map, chart, document, manuscript, pamphlet, or other material whatsoever of a rare nature shall be permitted to be sent out from the library under any circumstances.

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon passage and publication.

The committee also recommends for indefinite postponement bill No. 51, S., re-referred to this committee from the committee on state affairs.

The committee finds the affairs of the Society financially and in every other respect most excellently managed, with a staff, members of which have been with the Society for a score of years or more, and whose work to them has become more a labor of love for the institution and its success than for the pecuniary remuneration they receive. This is highly gratifying in view of the high standing and reputation the Society, which was founded in 1853, has obtained all over the nation. Housed in one of the finest buildings of the state, with a floor space of three acres, in which are deposited over 200,000 invaluable historical volumes and documents, constituting the third and perhaps second largest historical library in the United States and one of the largest in the world, it has become a repository of reference material that is consulted for important information not only by every class of activity in our own state but often in the nation. The committee does not hesitate to say that every member thereof was not only profoundly impressed but actually amazed to find it such a big, comprehensive, serviceable, and helpful institution in which the state may take intense pride and the committee hopes that every citizen of the state may find opportunity to visit the library and see from a personal inspection what a wonderful institution Wisconsin possesses in its State Historical Society.

A complete record of the proceedings at the hearings held by the committee is attached herewith to be filed as a part of this report.

Senator H. E. Roethe, (Chairman)
Senator A. J. Pullen
Assemblyman S. R. Webster
Assemblyman M. L. Hineman
Assemblyman Herman Roethel

No. 5: Mr. Lawson's Comment on the Report of the Joint Legislative Committee[5]

"The press notice sent out from Madison entitled 'Historical Society Given Clean Slate,' was incorrect, not true, and misleading. The Historical Society is housed by the state in a granite and marble building costing $770,000. The state has appropriated some $6,000,000 for equipment and maintenance in the last seventy years, and this year $63,500. For five years past most of the publications have been books on Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Lewis and Ordway up the Missouri River, all of it thirty to seventy-five years before Wisconsin was a territory. Promised works were several volumes on the gold diggers of California, and translation of a work on ginseng from Paris, 200 years old. Because of such gross neglect of Wisconsin history the legislature investigated the Society.

"In its findings the committee was careful to refer to the great collections of the Society and administer rebuke without injuring the Society, in which it was wise. Of its publications the report says: 'The publications should relate primarily, of course, to the history of our state, the committee recognizes the fact that this history cannot be made separate and distinct from other history, especially the history of the West of which Wisconsin was originally an integral part.' This finding was exactly in accordance with the complaint made in which it was shown the anti-Wisconsin attitude of the Society had in late years almost entirely ignored state history.

"Another complaint was the refusal of the Society in last four years to loan genealogies outside of the building, for the sole reason someone may call at the library to consult the book while it is loaned up state. It was maintained by complainant that the people up state

[5] Reprinted from Milwaukee *Journal*, July 2, 1919.

who paid for the books by taxation have as much right to the loan of the books as the one who called at the library. And the expense of going to Madison to consult the books was prohibitive. The investigating committee entirely agreed with this view, and proposed a bill compelling the loan of all books except those 'of a rare nature.'

"Thus the only two contentions made in the complaint of the conduct of the Historical Society were sustained by the legislative investigating committee."

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

From the date of the last report (in the June "Survey of Historical Activities") to July 8, 1919, thirty-eight persons became members of the State Historical Society. Six of these were life members, as follows: Rev. Harry W. Blackman, Algoma; Dr. G. R. Egeland, Sturgeon Bay; William O. Goodrich, Milwaukee; Asher B. Nichols, Jr., Milwaukee; Miss Louise Schlegelmilch, Eau Claire; W. E. Wagener, Sturgeon Bay.

The following thirty-two persons joined the Society in the capacity of annual members: Miss Olive M. Anderson, Ephraim; Miss Grace L. Blackford, Albany; Mrs. James J. Blaine, Madison; Rev. Realf O. Brandt, McFarland; C. E. Broughton, Sheboygan; Francis A. Cannon, Madison; H. L. Cooper, Jamaica Plain, Mass.; William N. Clark, Radisson; Rev. F. S. Dayton, New London; Mrs. H. P. Greeley, Madison; H. A. Hartman, Milwaukee; E. Helgeson, Ephraim; Miss Agnes L. Holdahl, Ellsworth; Rev. Joseph Jameson, Jacksonport; Paul G. W. Keller, Appleton; B. P. Larkin, Benton; Rev. Henry A. Link, Marshfield; Rev. James C. Morris, Madison; Erwin P. Nemmers, Milwaukee; O. M. Olson, Ephraim; William A. Oppel, Madison; H. L. Peterson, Sturgeon Bay; Dr. Thomas C. Proctor, Sturgeon Bay; Dr. A. J. Pullen, Fond du Lac; Rev. F. P. O. Reed, Chippewa Falls; Rev. D. A. Richardson, Madison; Hon. H. E. Roethe, Fennimore; C. S. Smith, Ephraim; Harrison A. Smith, Madison; H. E. Stedman, Sturgeon Bay; Everett M. Valentine, Ephraim; Rt. Rev. W. W. Webb, Milwaukee.

Dr. A. J. Pullen and Hon. H. E. Roethe were the two representatives from the senate on the joint legislative committee which during the spring conducted the investigation of the affairs of the Society. A gratifying indication of the nature of the impression which the investigation made upon them is afforded by the fact that immediately upon its conclusion both Dr. Pullen and Mr. Roethe indicated their desire to become members of the Society.

In the death of Frederic K. Conover of Madison, May 7, 1919, the Society lost one of its oldest and most devoted curators. Mr. Conover was born on the University campus in 1857, the son of Professor Obadiah Conover, and spent his entire life in Madison. For nearly thirty-six years he had been the reporter of the Supreme

Court of Wisconsin, his father having held this office for the twenty years preceding Mr. Conover's term. Quiet and retiring in disposition he discharged his duties with unusual care and ability, making the Wisconsin reports a model for accuracy and clarity. Mr. Conover became a curator of the Historical Society in 1893 and served continuously until his death, a period of more than a quarter of a century. With W. A. P. Morris and Senator William F. Vilas he was chiefly instrumental in drafting in 1897 the Society's present constitution and by-laws.

Orlando E. Clark of Appleton, long a member of the State Historical Society and likewise for long years a regent of the University of Wisconsin, died at his home May 22, 1919. The death of Mr. Clark is a distinct loss to his home community, to the University, and to the Historical Society. Elsewhere we note the gift by the family of certain of his papers to the Society.

Philo A. Orton died at his Darlington home June 17, 1919 at the age of eighty-two. Mr. Orton was a native of New York who came to Wisconsin in 1850. His father, Justice Harlow Orton, was one of Wisconsin's leading jurists. He was also one of the founders of the State Historical Society, having sponsored in the legislature the bill which still stands of the charter of the Society, and thereafter until his death as member and officer manifested an active interest in the Society's work and welfare. The son, Philo Orton, was likewise a member of long standing in the Society. He was prominent in the affairs of his home community, serving as judge, district attorney, legislator, and for twenty-nine years as president of the board of education.

Chauncey H. Cooke of Mondovi was born at Columbus, Ohio, in 1846. He spent his youth in pioneer Wisconsin and at the age of sixteen enlisted in the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Infantry. In May, 1865, on his nineteenth birthday, he was mustered out at Madison, a veteran of nearly three years' campaigning. Mr. Cooke went into the service with his father's dictum that this was "a war for human rights and human liberty" ringing in his ears. His diary and war time letters, published in booklet form some years since, give evidence that he afforded a good example of the type of citizen soldiery of which America is justly proud. He so conducted himself in after life that the business houses of his home city closed for two hours on the day of his funeral, May 14, 1919. Boy though he was, Mr. Cooke's soldier letters were charmingly written. We look forward to a suitable opportunity for laying some of them before our readers by printing them in a future issue of this MAGAZINE.

On May 3, 1919 died David F. Sayre of the town of Porter, Rock County, aged ninety-seven years. Mr. Sayre's interesting career was noted in our survey for June, 1919. A graduate from college in 1844, he came to Wisconsin five years later, practicing law in Fulton for a time and then removing to the farm where he passed the remainder of his long life. Not long before his death Mr. Sayre turned over to the Historical Library two reminiscent articles on life in early Wisconsin which we hope eventually to lay before our readers.

Lucien B. Caswell, "grand old man" of Fort Atkinson died at his home at the age of ninety-one, April 26, 1919. Born in Vermont in 1827, at the age of nine years he was brought by his parents to Wisconsin. Chicago was then a small town of three years' antiquity, while Milwaukee had seen its first growth of any consequence that same season. The family spent the winter of 1837 at Juneau's trading house, Milwaukee, and in the spring removed to a farm in Rock County near Lake Koshkonong. Here young Caswell grew to manhood. He read law at Beloit in the office of one Matt. Carpenter, and in 1852 opened a law office at Fort Atkinson. Thereafter for sixty-seven years Mr. Caswell practiced law in this community. For sixty-five years he was a member of the school board of the place. He organized the First National Bank of Fort Atkinson during the Civil War and was serving as its president at the time of his death. He was actively connected with other industrial enterprises of his home community and bore a prominent share in its public and social life. In 1862 Mr. Caswell accompanied Governor Harvey's party to Tennessee bearing supplies to Wisconsin's sick and wounded soldiers, this being the journey which ended in the death of Governor Harvey by drowning in the Tennessee River. Mr. Caswell represented his district in Congress for fourteen years beginning in 1874, and had a part in much important legislation. In recent years he devoted much of his time to preparing a history of his life; and this narrative it is said will be published at some future date.

It may perhaps be a matter of news to many friends of the State Historical Society that its library contains one of the principal collections of works on Mormonism in existence. Some additions of unusual interest have recently been made to the periodical section of this collection. From a very early date in its history the Mormon Church exhibited great proselyting zeal, missionaries being sent forth in true apostolic fashion to the ends of the earth. In particular did the mission to England flourish; and almost from the time of its establishment a constant stream of recruits journeyed across the ocean in search of their promised land. The proselyters had much faith in the power of the press, and Mormon periodicals

were established wherever the faith gained a real footing. The recent additions to the Historical Library are Vol. 1 of *Le Reflecteur*, established at Geneva in January, 1853; Vol. 1 of *Etoile Du Déseret*, begun at Paris in May, 1851; and Vols. I, II, III, and VI of *Ugdorn Seion neu Seren Y Saint*, established at Merthyr-Tydfil, Wales, in January, 1849.

We take pleasure in reporting to our members an act of graceful generosity on the part of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Two or three years ago its editor, Mr. Worthington Ford, was engaged in reproducing by photostatic process the early file of the Boston *Gazette*, one of America's earliest newspapers. The paper was established in 1719; and it chances that the only file for several of its early years which has escaped destruction is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Accordingly Mr. Ford sought and obtained the opportunity of photostating these volumes. Late in June there came to the library a shipment of eleven bound newspaper volumes, photostatically reproduced, and simultaneously therewith a letter from Mr. Ford explaining that they were being sent as a gift from the Massachusetts society in recognition of the courtesy we had accorded them. The volumes include every known issue of the *Gazette* from its establishment in 1719 to the end of the year 1736. "It is presented," Mr. Ford writes, "to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in recognition of its generosity in permitting it to use the Wisconsin file. I would add that only two sets were printed, one for your library and one for this Society." The gift is one of much intrinsic value, but we prize it the more for the evidence it affords of the good will felt for us by the oldest American historical society.

Over one hundred bound volumes of eighteenth and early nineteenth century newspapers, the most important single acquisition of newspaper files in many years, came to the Society in June. Excluding from consideration portions of files which duplicate papers already found in our newspaper collection and also numerous short or scattering runs, the more important items thus acquired are listed below. They constitute a gratifying addition to the Society's great and ever growing collection of newspaper files. The dates given are inclusive in all cases:

Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1766-69.

Georgetown *Federal Republican* and *Commercial Gazette*, August, 1812-August, 1813.

Baltimore *Federal Republican* and *Baltimore Telegraph*, 1817-May, 1821.

Washington *Republican*, 1823.

Washington *National Journal*, 1826-30.

Washington *United States Telegraph*, April, 1827-April, 1829; July, 1833-February 1837.

Cincinnati *Liberty Hall* and *Cincinnati Gazette*, September, 1829-June, 1830.

Boston *Courier*, August, 1829-August, 1830; 1831-32; July, 1833-34.

Columbus *Ohio State Journal* and *Columbus Gazette*, January-June, 1831.

Baltimore *Commercial Chronicle* and *Daily Marylander*, August-December, 1834.

Charleston *Mercury*, 1835-36; 1841-April, 1842.

Lexington (Ky.) *Intelligencer*, July-December, 1835; July, 1837-39.

Washington *Globe*, July-December, 1835.

Milledgeville (Ga.) *Journal*, January-June, 1836.

Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, July, 1840-April, 1842.

Vicksburg *Daily Whig*, 1840-41; November, 1860-March, 1861.

Washington *Union*, November, 1843-50; 1853-54; July, 1855-April, 1858.

New Orleans *Price Current*, 1845-August, 1846; September, 1853-August, 1857.

St. Louis *Price Current*, May, 1856-April, 1857.

Through the kindness of Richard Lloyd Jones, editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal*, the Society has come into possession of a gift of unusual historical interest, one intimately associated with the death of President Lincoln. We tell the story of it in the words of Mr. Jones in his letter transmitting the gift to the Society:

"In the summer of 1907 I received a letter from a lady whose name I have unfortunately forgotten, stating that her sister and she possessed the counterpane under which Abraham Lincoln died and would like to turn that counterpane over to me to dispose of as I saw fit. Would I please advise her if I were willing to accept it either as a gift or as a trust. On the evening of that day I called upon her. She and her sister were living on one of the eighty's on the west side of New York City, in a very fine house, though unpretentious in the New York sense. They were obviously people of affluence and culture.

"They showed me the counterpane and told me that it was in their aunt's house that Mr. Lincoln died. That house is now occupied by the Oldroyd Lincoln Collection. When their aunt gave up that house some years after Lincoln's death, she gave this historic coun-

terpane to her two nieces. They had kept it in their New York home, but were planning to move to Italy to spend the remainder of their lives, and did not wish to take such a valuable relic.

"Knowing my interest in Lincoln matters, they decided to turn it over to me and in doing so they made it a gift to me personally, stating that they would be satisfied with any disposition I might make of it. At that time the ladies wrote out a full statement of the facts, giving their names, address, and the date of the transfer, which paper, I am sorry to say, was mislaid when I moved from New York to Madison. Should it ever come to light I will, of course, turn it over to the Wisconsin Historical Society. This counterpane, it may be stated, was the best spread of the household and when Mr. Lincoln was carried from the Ford theater directly across the street the best the house could provide was of course his. The counterpane was not used by the family after Mr. Lincoln's death.

"Very truly yours,

RICHARD LLOYD JONES."

Madison, April 15, 1919.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society was held in the Congregational Church at Waukesha, May 3, 1919. Aside from business reports, election of officers, and musical offerings two historical papers were given. Dan Camp discussed "The Old Fashioned Family Doctor," and Mrs. Elmer Harris told of "Early Days at North Lake and Vicinity."

Reports from Prairie du Chien convey the information that in April last one of the city's old landmarks was destroyed to make way for a modern improvement. The building in question was erected in 1817 by Frances La Pointe and for nearly forty years was used as a store in conducting the fur trade with the Indians. It stood on a lot which had been claimed and occupied by one Jean Marie Quere in 1786. From him the title passed to La Pointe in 1817.

To Captain David G. James of Richland Center, Civil War and Andersonville Prison veteran and long an advocate of woman suffrage, came in June a peculiar and gratifying distinction. Illinois and Wisconsin ratified the suffrage amendment to the federal constitution the same day and thus became the first two states to ratify. There ensued a race for the honor of being first to place the official notification in the hands of the Secretary of State at Washington. Illinois entrusted her certificate to the mails, while Wisconsin with greater shrewdness pinned its hopes upon Captain James. Entrusted with the certificate, he beat the mail service of Uncle Sam in the race

to Washington and gained for Wisconsin the honor of being the first state officially to record its ratification of the suffrage amendment.

At the opening of June the city of Ripon celebrated with impressive ceremony the seventy-fifth anniversary of its birth. The opening program was staged in Ceresco Park, opposite the Phalanx building where the original document of incorporation for the village was drawn. S. M. Pedrick, curator of the State Historical Society, delivered an address on "The Wisconsin Phalanx."

On July 5, 1869 the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County was formally organized. During the half century that has since passed the Club has been a definite and active factor in the life of the community; and its history has afforded much material for the emulation of similar organizations. Two meetings are regularly held yearly, a banquet on Washington's birthday and a summer outing usually held at Soldiers' Home. At the time of writing this notice plans were under way for the appropriate observance by the Club, late in July, of its semicentennial anniversary.

On June 19, 1919 an Indian festival was held at Reserve on the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation in Sawyer County, in celebration of the homecoming of some eighty soldier boys which the local Chippewa band furnished to the United States army in the World War. In honor of the occasion Governor E. L. Philipp and a party which included Dr. W. C. Deemer of the United States Forestry department and Mr. C. E. Brown of the State Historical Society made the journey from Madison to Stone Lake and from there to Reserve to be present.

The ceremonies of the day began at 10 A.M. with the celebration of high mass in the Indian church; this impressive service was followed by a Corpus Christi procession through the streets of the village led by the visiting Catholic priests, soldiers, and the congregation. After the return to the church, a sumptuous banquet was served by the ladies of the reservation to the state officers, priests, and soldiers.

The ceremonies of the afternoon were held on a tract of land fronting on the principal village street and overlooking charming Little Lac Courte Oreilles. These were introduced by several musical numbers rendered in a bowery booth by the band of the Indian school at Hayward. Addresses of welcome to the Governor and his party were here delivered by several prominent Indians and by the sheriff of Sawyer County, to which the Chief Executive of the state responded in a fitting manner. The widely advertised Victory dance

followed these addresses, about one hundred Indians, both men and women, in picturesque native costumes taking part to the music of several war drums. This dance continued for more than an hour, there being, because of the unusual heat of the day, several intermissions to permit the dancers to rest. During one of these intermissions Governor Philipp was led into the dance circle and honored by being formally declared a member of the Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa band; he was given the very appropriate Indian name of Bugonakeshig II (Hole-in-the-Day), this having been the name of a former war chief of the northwest Wisconsin Chippewa. Later in the afternoon an equally interesting and energetic squaw dance was given, this and musical numbers by the Indian band closing the program of the festival.

A concourse of several thousand whites and Indians attended the festival, among the latter being native chiefs and families from the reservations at Odanah, Lac du Flambeau, and Red Cliff and from the St. Croix River band. A number of Dakota chiefs and their wives, clad in the characteristic buckskin, war bonnets, and beadwork ornaments, attended from South Dakota, special favor being shown to these. Every Indian home in Reserve entertained to its capacity numerous visiting relatives and friends. Dr. Deemer and Mr. Brown remained on the reservation during a part of the following day to obtain moving picture film, about one thousand five hundred feet of which was secured. A copy of this Indian festival film is to be presented to the State Historical Society.

The period of the World War has been the most interesting in the history of postage stamp collecting. It is stated that of a total of 3,157 stamps issued by the countries concerned in the war the United States and allies have been responsible for the appearance of 2,274 varieties, whereas the Central Powers have issued 689 new stamps. The neutral countries have not been idle. At least ten of these have been forced by the war to issue new stamps.

The postage stamps issued during the war include charity and Red Cross; military, for use of the troops; occupation, for use of peoples of invaded lands; war tax; commemorative; revenue, and provisional issues made necessary because of shortage of customary paper or dyes, or increase of postal rates. It is to be expected that during the next year hundreds of new stamps will be issued by all of the countries taking part in the war and by the many new countries which have come into existence because of it.

For several years past the State Historical Museum has been engaged in assembling a representative collection of American and foreign postage stamps and it now requests its numerous friends

throughout the state to present to it all specimens of war stamps and any others of interest which may fall into their hands. Foreign postcards and envelopes and wrappers with interesting specimens of stamps upon them are also very much desired for the state collection. The Museum also wants United States precancelled stamps. The more duplicates the better since they can be used in making exchanges.

Special exhibits of postage stamps are made by the Museum throughout the year and these serve to interest hundreds of boys as well as numerous adult collectors who visit its halls. It will, therefore, be grateful for any help which citizens of the state can give in perfecting its collection. In many homes are old stamp collections, large and small, made by some former member of the family; for such collections the Museum will be very grateful. Letters may be addressed to Mr. C. E. Brown, chief of the Historical Museum, Madison.

THE CARTER CIVIL WAR LETTERS

An interesting addition to the great collection of Civil War letters now in the possession of the Historical Society was the acquisition in May of about one hundred twenty-five letters written during the war by the late Captain Richard E. Carter of Dodgeville to his brother, William E. Carter of Lancaster, Grant County, and other members of the Carter family. Three Carter brothers, Richard E., William E., and George B., served in the Union army and all rose to distinction at the bar afterwards. The Carter letters follow in the main the movements and the fortunes of the Army of the Potomac, and being written by a young man of some academic training their observations and estimates are interesting. The writer occasionally observes, for instance, that McClellan is not a Napoleon or he would have followed up his advantages at times, and he early discerned the rising star of Grant. After the Union repulse at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, Captain Carter writes that he wishes the two armies of Virginia might stand and watch each other from opposite banks of the Rappahannock "for three years, or during the period of the war, unless sooner discharged," and let the army of the West do the fighting, "as they have always done." "Would," he continues, "that they could transfer our six or seven regiments to the West where we belong," etc. He is frequently in great depression over the war's outlook and censorious of the military policies, except that of the West, "where," he says ironically, "success, as usual, crowns our arms."

That the State Historical Society was not overlooking the possibilities of such material as these letters contain is indicated in the following passage from one of them:

"I this day got a letter from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in which I am informed that I have been elected a corresponding member of the Society asking me to keep a diary, etc., for them. Would you do it? May it not be a benefit?"

Whether or not Captain Carter kept a diary, he wrought admirably toward the same general end in these letters, which reflect much of the inner life, practices, and politics of the army.

THE ORLANDO E. CLARK PAPERS

The family of the late Orlando E. Clark, a regent of the University recently deceased at Appleton, has presented a few papers to the Society. Among them are some notes on the genealogy of the Clark Family of Saybrook, Connecticut, and some eighteenth century sermons of the Reverend Peter Stair of Warren, in the same state. The most important papers are those relating to the Democratic national convention at Charleston in April, 1860, adjourned after the secession of the Southern members to Baltimore. James Ford Rhodes says, "Never before or since has there been such a mingling of curiosity, interest, and concern as now prevailed concerning the action that would be taken by the national Democratic convention [of 1860]." The Clark papers contain the official proceedings of the Wisconsin convention that in February elected delegates to the national convention. Some material on the Illinois state and Cook County Democratic conventions foreshadows the secession at Charleston. For the national convention there are the manuscript lists of all the state delegations, and other papers concerning contested seats, especially those from Maryland and Georgia—these apparently are part of the documents of the committee on credentials. Manuscript copies of the proceedings and resolutions of the rump convention at Baltimore complete the collection. Throughout his busy life Mr. Clark methodically arranged and carefully preserved his private papers. The prospect is held out by the family that when time shall have been afforded to examine these papers the Historical Society may expect to receive all whose character is such as to make this disposition of them appropriate.

THE MERRELL PAPERS

The papers of the Reverend Edward Huntington Merrell, D.D., former president of Ripon College, have been presented to the Society by his widow, Mrs. Ada Clark Merrell. Dr. Merrell came from Oberlin College to Wisconsin in 1862 and devoted the remainder of his life to forwarding the educational interests of our state. At the time of his migration to Wisconsin the college at Ripon was in its infancy. With the election in 1863 of President William H. Merriam, the college took a fresh start. Professor Merrell assumed the chair of

ancient languages and upon the resignation of President Merriam in 1876 was elected his successor. For sixteen years President Merrell struggled to establish the college on a firm foundation, and he so far succeeded that to his régime Ripon owes much of its present prosperity. In 1891 President Merrell retired and accepted the chair of philosophy, which he held until 1907, when he was elected professor emeritus. He died in February, 1910.

The papers which Mrs. Merrell has presented to the Society cover the period from 1870 to 1910; but the bulk of them relate to the era of Mr. Merrell's presidency and include his correspondence with well-known benefactors of western colleges both in the East and in the central West. A few political letters concern the national situation in General Grant's administration and the situation during the Bennett Law agitation in Wisconsin. For the most part, however, the letters relate to educational and religious matters, the affairs of the college, the administration of missions, the question of the orthodoxy of prominent divines. Altogether, although small in bulk, these papers are unusually interesting for the study of religious history in Wisconsin. For Ripon College students the collection is enriched by the letters and testimonials gathered by Mrs. Merrell when preparing a memorial of Mrs. Clarissa Tucker Tracy, one of the earliest members of Ripon's faculty, who "mothered" the students as well as taught and inspired them.

THE UPDIKE PAPERS

Eugene Grover Updike, born in 1850 in New York State, removed as a boy to Wisconsin and was thereafter identified during his entire life with the state and its institutions. Sturdy both physically and mentally, a strong, independent thinker, and a moral leader of absolute fearlessness, he contributed as much as any man of his generation to the spiritual upbuilding of Wisconsin. He was educated at Lawrence College and entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876. He held pastorates at Montello, Delavan, Lake Mills, Racine, and Milwaukee. From the latter place he went in 1889 to a church in Englewood, Illinois, whence the next year he came to Madison and entered upon his life work as pastor of the First Congregational Church. Here he had the privilege of preaching to thousands of the youth of the state in attendance at the University, as well as of upbuilding the strongest church of that denomination in the state. After a pastorate of twenty-seven years, Dr. Updike died December 24, 1917. Mrs. Updike, who was one of the Favill family of Lake Mills, followed her husband in less than a year. Through the kindness of her executors such of Dr. Updike's papers as have historical value have been placed in the State Histori-

cal Library. They are rich in autographs of both political and religious leaders of the last generation. Among them we note letters from Judge Cassoday, John C. Spooner, Amos P. Wilder, Lyman Abbott, Charles Kendall Adams, Bishop James Bashford, Rev. John and Rev. Henry Favill, Washington Gladden, Judson Titsworth, Bishop John H. Vincent. These papers are useful for the religious history of the state, particularly for conditions in Wisconsin Methodism, when Dr. Updike about thirty years ago went over into Congregationalism. Although few in number they bear witness to the noble character of the man and the high esteem in which he was held by all moral progressives of his day. From such papers as these, historians of the future can reconstruct the struggle against the liquor traffic, and the fight for pure government, as well as the moral and spiritual uplift of our people during the generation that is now passing away.

THE HENRY P. HAMILTON COLLECTION

Through the interest and generosity of the late Henry P. Hamilton of Two Rivers the State Historical Society has become the owner of his remarkable collection of archeological materials. This great collection comprises the most notable gift of its kind, perhaps, which has come to the Society since its founding seventy years ago. For years it has been one of the best known private collections of its character in the country and has been visited and viewed at Mr. Hamilton's home by many of the leading American archeologists and ethnologists, as well as by hundreds of collectors and students. Descriptions of it or of some of its contents have been printed in various books and pamphlets on American archeological history. In the reports of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, especially, many of its interesting classes of specimens have been described and illustrated. Some years ago a valuation of $30,000 was placed upon it by a leading American dealer in antiquities since which time numerous valuable additions to it have been made. Several large eastern museums have at different times opened negotiations with its owner with a view to obtaining it.

This collection has the special interest for students of local archeology of having been made almost wholly from old Indian village sites, mounds, and graves in this state. According to a recent statement of its owner the majority of its specimens were obtained from the Lake Michigan shore line between Two Rivers and Two Creeks and from the immediately surrounding regions in Manitowoc County. A catalogue is not yet available, but the contents include among numerous other specimens the largest number of native copper implements and ornaments in any collection, public or private, in the

United States. Many of these are of the largest size, of the finest ancient aboriginal workmanship, and of rare forms. Their collection and preservation has been for years Mr. Hamilton's specialty. They are said to number fourteen thousand pieces. The collection also contains numerous fine examples of Wisconsin flint implements as well as of stone axes, celts, hammers, gouges, adzes, and chisels. The series of fluted or ornamented stone axes is equalled only by that in the Ellsworth collection in the Logan Museum at Beloit College. Of the highly prized ornamental and ceremonial Indian art forms such as bird stones, banner stones, gorgets, boat stones, plummets, cones, hemispheres, pendants, beads, and tubes there are many specimens. The assortment of pipes is an exceptional one. There are also many choice implements and ornaments made of antler, bone, hematite, shell, and of other materials and pottery vessels of a number of shapes and sizes. Mr. Hamilton was one of the first collectors in the United States to recognize the great beauty and value of the exquisite so-called "jewel points" made of agate, jasper, and other semiprecious stones. His specimens, which number over two thousand, were selected from among the eighteen thousand which he once possessed; they were found on the banks of the Columbia and other rivers in Oregon and Washington.

Mr. Hamilton began the collection of Indian implements and ornaments in 1884, his interest in these being inspired by the noted pioneer Wisconsin collector, Frederick S. Perkins of Burlington. Although a man of large business interests in his native city and elsewhere his enthusiastic interest in aboriginal stone and metal artifacts continued up to the very last moments of his life as shown in his letters to the chief of the Historical Museum. He was recognized as a leading student of American archeology and carried on a large correspondence with other collectors and experts in this field. He was one of the organizers and for many years an officer and active participant in the work of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, being at the time of his death one of its vice presidents. He was also for years a member of the State Historical Society.

Mr. Hamilton died at the Presbyterian hospital at Chicago on June 15, after a short illness, his death being greatly regretted by a wide circle of friends.

CHARLES E. BROWN

THE COUNTY WAR HISTORY WORK

The most notable historical drive ever made in Wisconsin, probably, has been that conducted under the inspiration of the Wisconsin War History Committee appointed by the State Council of Defense early in 1918; its function was the securing for permanent preserva-

tion of the current records of Wisconsin's part in the Great War. Although authorized by the State Council and enjoying its active sympathy the committee was composed of active members of the State Historical Society and its work was supported and directed by that organization. Its immediate direction was placed in the hands of a member of the Society's working staff (first Dr. John W. Oliver; after his enlistment Mr. A. O. Barton) who was detailed by the Superintendent for this purpose and given the title of Director of the War History Committee. Due to the enthusiastic labors of these two men, war history committees were organized in every county of Wisconsin and in all hundreds of workers were enrolled in the service of saving the records of the Badger State's participation in the Great War. The work of the county committees is still going on, but that of the state committee has concluded. We print below a portion of the final report upon the work, made by Mr. Barton, director of the state committee and chairman also of the Dane County committee. Its perusal should afford gratification to every friend of the cause of patriotism and local history in Wisconsin.

"The war history work may be said to be in a satisfactory condition in the great majority of counties. While a number of counties have reported that they have nearly completed their records, none has entirely ceased work and the greater number are still some distance from their goal. This is due largely to the fact that many of the state's troops have but recently returned or are still abroad.

"It is gratifying to note that in most of the counties having the larger cities, such as Superior, Racine, Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Kenosha, Green Bay, La Crosse, Janesville, Appleton, Eau Claire, Manitowoc, and Stevens Point, the work fell into capable and interested hands. In all these counties excellent results have been obtained. Perhaps the larger counties with the best records are Sheboygan, Fond du Lac, Eau Claire, Outagamie, Racine, Kenosha, and Brown, and among the smaller Adams, Clark, Waukesha, Taylor, Dunn, Crawford, Waushara, and Green Lake. In the two largest counties, Milwaukee and Winnebago, the progress has been less, but in both these counties the War Mothers have come forward with substantial aid of much promise. A half dozen counties have little to show as yet. Among these are Juneau, Dodge, Iowa, Oconto, and Waupaca. Juneau and Iowa will probably receive good attention soon. Some county councils of defense made appropriations for the history work; others gave neither funds nor encouragement. The correspondence files will give further light on the status of the individual counties.

"In a number of counties war histories and albums are in course of publication, chiefly by outside concerns. Among such counties may be mentioned Brown, Columbia, Burnett, Dunn, Door, Iowa, Crawford, Polk, Rusk, St. Croix, Oneida, Marquette, Waushara, and

Green Lake. It is also probable that histories will be written by local historians in the counties of Kenosha, Green, Racine, Lafayette, Trempealeau, and Ozaukee. The historians, acting or prospective, are: Brown—Chicago publishers; Door—H. R. Holand, Ephraim; Columbia—J. E. Jones, former editor, Portage; Marquette—C. H. Barry, editor, Montello; Waushara and Green Lake—R. S. Starks, editor, Berlin; Crawford—Lyman Howe, editor, Prairie du Chien; Polk—Editor, *Luck Enterprise;* Rusk—D. W. Maloney, editor, Ladysmith; Burnett—E. Huth, editor, Grantsburg; Iowa—Granville Trace, editor, Dodgeville; St. Croix—F. A. R. VanMeter, editor, New Richmond; Dunn—M. C. Douglas, editor, Menomonie; Kenosha—Miss Cathie McNamara, Kenosha; Racine—R. W. Haight, Racine; Green—C. H. Dietz, teacher, Monroe; Lafayette—P. H. Conley, Darlington; Trempealeau—Judge H. A. Anderson, Whitehall; Ozaukee—Rev. T. A. Boerner, Port Washington; Oneida—W. P. Colburn, principal, Rhinelander; Outagamie—W. H. Kreiss, Appleton; Richland—W. G. Barry, editor, Richland Center.

"Your retiring director visited fifty of the seventy-one counties and met the chairmen of a number of others. The counties not visited were chiefly those in the far northern part of the state or such as seemed so well organized as to need less attention.

"Several hundred pictures have been received from a number of counties, including Washington, Sauk, Dane, Trempealeau, Milwaukee, Jefferson, Dunn, Eau Claire, and Green; more are promised from other counties. Final reports from several state activities have been received, including the council of defense, fuel and food administrations, county agents, physicians, naval enlistments for the state, etc.

"In a number of counties the War Mothers have been enlisted to collect the military biographies, letters, and pictures and are now at work in Dane, Milwaukee, Winnebago, Langlade, Jefferson, Polk, and perhaps other counties.

"War History chairmen or those having the work in hand in the various counties, follow: * * *

The Dane County History Committee, of which your director is chairman, has turned all its soldier cards, letters, and pictures over to the War Mothers, Mrs. J. R. Commons, chairman, who will complete this work for the county. Among other things the committee has also received files of practically all county newspapers for the period of the war, a voluminous report from the County Council of Defense, and hundreds of reports from minor activities and organizations in Madison and throughout the county.

Respectfully submitted,

A. O. Barton,

Director, Wisconsin War History Committee and Chairman, Dane County War History Committee."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Theodore C. Blegen ("The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants") has been for several years teacher of history in the Riverside High School of Milwaukee. Two years ago Mr. Blegen spent the summer in the employ of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the fruit of his effort being the exhaustive *Report on the Public Archives* which has recently been distributed to our members.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research member of the staff of the State Historical Society and a frequent contributor to its publications.

James Bracklin ("A Tragedy of the Wisconsin Pinery") was for over thirty years superintendent of logging and driving for the Knapp-Stout Lumber Company of Menomonie. His narrative lays no claim to literary polish, yet we think it possesses in ample degree the two chief attributes of literature, simplicity and sincerity.

R. G. Plumb, who contributes the Leonard Civil War letters, is a business man of Manitowoc. Mr. Plumb is an enthusiastic member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and is considered the leading authority on the subject of Wisconsin lake harbors. He has written a number of articles and pamphlets on archeological subjects and is an old-time member and friend of the State Historical Society.

SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

A Little Flag Book compiled by Hosea W. Rood, patriotic instructor for the Wisconsin G. A. R., has for its object to promote patriotism, which the author defines as "love of country in action," and to give information concerning flag customs and flag etiquette. The laws relating to the flag are compiled by Arthur F. Belitz, assistant revisor of the statutes. About half of this pamphlet is devoted to the history of the two hundred battle flags of the Civil War. They were first placed in the capitol according to a law passed in 1870, which in 1875 was revised to provide cases wherein to exhibit these trophies. In 1895 the battle flags were given into the custody of the Historical Society and removed with its effects in 1900 to the new building on the lower campus. The next year by order of the governor these flags were returned to the capitol, whence they were rescued during the fire of 1904 and again returned to the Historical Society's custody. There they remained until 1914, when during a Grand Encampment of the G. A. R. they were once more carried back to the capitol. With the opening in June, 1918 of Memorial Hall

in the capitol's north wing permanent cases were provided, and the old flags arranged in regimental order with proper indications of their history. The remainder of the pamphlet comprises the official uses and customs for the United States flag, its symbolism, and the proper modes of showing it respect, the times and methods for salutes, the days for its display, and the state laws passed to prevent its desecration. The book also describes the first state flag, adopted by the legislature in 1863; it was of dark blue silk with the arms of the state "painted or embroidered" upon the obverse and those of the United States with the regimental name upon the reverse. In 1913 the specifications were modified so that the state coat of arms must be "embroidered on each side with silk." The expense involved in embroidering the flag in this manner has rendered its use rare. The pamphlet closes with a plea for a more constant employment of the national flag in the homes, churches, civic buildings, and in the private room of each citizen of the commonwealth.

In our March number we mentioned a pamphlet upon Americanization published by the State Council of Defense. The University of Wisconsin is the first university in the United States to establish a chair of Americanization. This was filled last fall by the appointment of Don D. Lescohier, associate professor. Under the auspices of the Extension Division Professor Lescohier has issued a *Preliminary Bulletin* outlining the plans of the department and the tentatives for action. He discusses the meaning of "Americanization" and disclaims such aims and methods as have been employed by Germany and other nations which have attempted forcibly to assimilate alien elements of their population. Our aim is not to require the foreigner to meet any rigid obligations of language or customs, but to produce a mutual understanding on the part of the alien, of what is best in American life; on the part of our own people, of the alien's peculiar difficulties and the opportunities that should be afforded him. This requires the older Americans to lay aside their prejudices and indifference and to assist the newcomers to share the privileges and fit themselves for the responsibilities of American life. Americanization thus becomes a process of education in mutual understanding. The leaders in this movement aim to utilize agencies already established, such as the public schools, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., community centers, social settlements, women's clubs, churches, etc. The function of the University is not to supplant other agencies but to supply for them advice, research, and the training of leaders. For this purpose a training course for teachers of Americanization was held in Milwaukee February 25 to May 8. In Racine a naturalization course was undertaken by four hundred eighty-two candidates for citizenship, concluded with a banquet and

a civic pageant. The University summer session offered special courses in Americanization. A state-wide movement is being undertaken in coöperation with the United States bureau of naturalization to work with the judges and the communities in making naturalization an honorable and impressive ceremony, recognized by the entire community. The Extension Division of the University furnishes lectures, an information bureau, and correspondence courses in English and citizenship. May the movement so auspiciously begun in Wisconsin receive the recognition and support of the entire state.

The League of Nations is at present probably the foremost subject in the thoughts of the American people. The Wisconsin Library *Bulletin* for January furnishes a selected bibliography on this subject prepared by Graham H. Stuart, executive secretary of the Wisconsin branch of the League to Enforce Peace. For 1915 Mr. Stuart cites five books, for 1916 and 1917 eight each, and for 1918 twelve that discuss the fundamentals of such a league. If but one book may be chosen, he would select H. N. Brailsford's *A League of Nations*, which "treats the entire subject in a sane, broad, logical manner, shows a thorough knowledge of world politics, and covers practically all the problems which will face the diplomats at Versailles." For the department of debating and public instruction of University Extension Mr. Stuart has prepared a schedule for debates upon the question: "Resolved, that a league of nations is practicable." He gives in brief form the arguments pro and con and references by which these positions may be supported.

The report of the Wisconsin special legislative committee on reconstruction is an able document and has been prepared at the expense of much labor and research. The committee, consisting of Roy P. Wilcox, A. Kuckuk, and J. C. Hanson, filed their report with the state legislature, February 5, 1919. It is issued in a separate pamphlet. It begins with the words: "Bolshevism is a present menace," and defines the movement as essentially revolutionary, "an intense expression of the desire for reconstruction tied up to revolutionary formulae, and permeated with the spirit of protest." It is in America an alien thing and has back of it a great emotional force, which only sane and fair-minded reconstruction can check. Reconstruction must be based on the doctrine that men are brothers and it must apply Christian ethics to social and economic policy. The report then discusses coöperation in agriculture, improved methods of marketing, and suggests a Marketing Commission responsible to the people. On the subject of labor it emphasizes the right to organization and collective bargaining, the needs of housing, of stimulating

public works, of a road-building program, of a minimum wage law for all workers, of a dismissal wage, and of increased educational opportunity for the children of wage earners. It also recommends representation of labor on educational boards and on boards of directors of corporations, the study of social insurance, the rehabilitation of victims of industrial accidents, a basic eight hour day, one day's rest in seven, and additional provisions for workmen's compensation. Advanced provisions for education are recommended, a State Land Settlement Commission, and colonization in colonies under the care of such a commission, and a state land bank. With regard to taxation, suggestions are made to the Tax Commission concerning income and inheritance taxes. The final recommendations of this report concern development and control of state commissions, suffrage for women, arbitration of legal disputes, and direct methods of amending the constitution. This report furnishes a working program for years to come and justifies Wisconsin's reputation as a progressive, forward-looking commonwealth.

Three years ago the State Conservation Commission was created by the union of the Fish and Game, Forestry, and State Park departments. The second biennial report of this commission furnishes much interesting information on the wild life and out-of-door possessions of our people. It states that 24,712 trappers' licenses were sold; and the value of the pelts taken is estimated at $700,000—probably as much as was ever realized in the palmiest days of the fur trade régime. Muskrats are almost trapped out and need a protective law. In 1903 an air-tight beaver law was passed and then there were but three colonies in the state; now they have become plentiful enough to be almost a nuisance. Since the protection afforded to bears in 1917 they have become very boisterous, and it is recommended that the law protecting them be repealed. Deer will soon be exterminated unless a one-buck law is passed. Several wild-life refuges have been provided in Rusk, Douglas, Barron, Washburn, Jackson, and Eau Claire counties. July 3, 1918 a migratory bird treaty was passed with Canada. In the state parks new drives have been made, several miles of trails laid out, and many trees set out. In the Peninsular Park of Door County 20,000 log feet have been cut by scientific selection. The forestry division maintains nurseries from which trees for beautifying school grounds are furnished at low rates.

The commission began in March the publication of a small journal called *The Wisconsin Conservationist*, whose purpose "is to promote within the state a friendly coöperation on the part of the people in the carrying out of the duties which the legislature has laid upon the State Conservation Commission."

"Are American farms passing into the hands of tenants?" is a question seriously discussed by sociologists. In 1917 a committee of the American Sociological Society presented a plan for standardization of research in country life. Under this plan Professor C. J. Galpin and Emily F. Hoag made a survey of a typical Wisconsin community, the results of which are published under the title of *Farm Tenancy, an Analysis of the Occupancy of 500 Farms.* Within a ten-year period 246 farms were occupied by their owners, 42 were constantly leased, and 212 oscillated between owners and tenants. Other phases of the relations of tenants and owners are discussed by the authors of this valuable and unusual pamphlet.

The issuance of the biennial report of the Department of Agriculture gives an occasion for just pride in the achievements of our people in this fundamental industry. Wisconsin leads the United States in organization, the department being placed on the same plane and in the same relation to the United States Department of Agriculture as the agricultural college and experiment station. Thus the distinct functions of education, experimentation, and control are coördinated and interrelated. One of the most valuable of the department's activities concerns the protection and aid furnished to new settlers. Fifteen thousand seven hundred eighty-four homeseekers applied to the department, of whom from ten to fourteen per cent became residents of Wisconsin. These actual settlers were aided in land clearing and in securing supplies at low rates. One of the chief functions of the department is inspection by which means diseases of both plants and animals are corrected, cattle and hogs are tested, and weeds and seeds controlled. In connection with the United States Bureau of Crop Statistics the department issued in May *Joint Bulletin* No. 21, on agricultural statistics for 1918. From this we learn the gratifying effect of the stimulus applied to agriculture by war agencies. One hundred thousand acres have been added to the crop area; and notwithstanding the shortage of labor, the crops have been the largest in the history of the state. More bushels of grain have been grown than ever before, and the estimated total value is $377,000,000 as compared with $227,000,000 in 1916. For specific details concerning the several crops the reader should refer to the pamphlet.

Turning from the products of the land to the human product, the eighteenth biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction furnishes interesting reading. War has emphasized the value of industrial and vocational training, in which Wisconsin is a leader. Educational reconstruction demands that the elementary schools shall serve the largest number, that health progress and needs shall be considered, that rural schools shall be improved and county schools of agriculture and domestic science established, that high schools shall be liberalized, and that continuation schools shall be organized for every industrial community. The report recognizes the need for scientific management and calls especial attention to the danger of a teacher famine since salaries have not kept pace with the increased cost of living. This means not only a dearth in the supply, but a lowering of the caliber of the candidates for teacher training. Wisconsin cannot afford to curtail in any way its educational agencies.

In this connection should be read and pondered the report of the special visiting committee to our charitable and penal institutions. Most of these are overcrowded and need repairs and enlargement. While the schools are considering the problem of the exceptional child, the state makes very inadequate provision for its feeble-minded, whose numbers are increasing with discouraging rapidity. Out of the estimated thirteen thousand that require special care, there are facilities for but twelve hundred. Wisconsin falls behind her sister states in handling this difficult problem, the ultimate cause of so much crime, poverty, and suffering.

The State Board of Health issues a pamphlet for general distribution entitled *Keeping Fit*. This demands muscular strength, endurance, energy, will power, courage, and self-control. The army records revealed four great handicaps: defective eyesight, teeth, and feet, and venereal disease. This pamphlet proposes corrective measures. With regard to eyesight certain original structural defects cannot be cured but may be corrected by properly fitted glasses; other defects can be aided by glasses that train the eye back to the normal, or by a slight operation performed by a competent specialist. Teeth are harborers of disease germs and the gateway to digestive processes. Much care should be given to brushing and cleaning them, with frequent recourse to the dentist for examination. Fallen arch or flat-foot may be prevented; directions are given for the care of shoes. In former wars venereal disease killed more than bullets. With increased knowledge of the laws of health, this danger to American youth may be eliminated. The pamphlet closes with practical advice on exercise, sleep, fresh air, food, and cleanliness, which will insure keeping fit.

The aftermath of the Great War brings a bulletin from the extension service of the College of Agriculture entitled *Wisconsin Wins.* Teamwork was responsible for the state's remarkable record, increasing its supply of bread cereals sixty per cent, sugar beets thirty per cent, and meat twenty per cent. In view of the shortage of labor this is an enviable record and is due to the cordial coöperation of federal, state, and county agencies under the council of defense organization. The aims of the campaign were to produce more essential vegetable foodstuff, to increase the supply of fats and animal food by two means. First, by making each acre produce more; second, by bringing more acres under cultivation. The first was accomplished by better seeds, soil management, and weed eradication; the second by drainage, clearing, and the control of weeds and pests. Pig and poultry clubs were organized, war gardens promoted, the potato problem solved, the sweets shortage relieved. A silo drive was inaugurated which resulted in ten thousand additional silos in war time. Threshers by care saved two hundred thousand bushels of bread grains. Publicity methods increased production. Boys' and girls' clubs with 40,000 members are estimated to have saved nearly $750,000 worth of food products. The conservation of the women in both food and clothing deserves the highest commendation and had a great share in putting Wisconsin "over the top" and making food win the war.

The State Council of Defense publishes a *Report* of its organization and activities from the date of its creation (the first in the Union) April 12, 1917 to the date of its dissolution June 30, 1919. The authors of this report disclaim any attempt to present either a history of the war at home or a complete record of their organization. They simply enumerate some of the lines along which the council guided the enthusiasm of the people in their desire for humble service and willing sacrifice and preserve for future history an outline of the council's work. The various and varied activities of this especial war agency for the "home army" are so fresh in the minds of our people that an enumeration here is unnecessary. A consultation of the report will convince the most skeptical of the necessity of this organization for practical service.

The University of Wisconsin celebrated a post-war Commencement, and on June 24, the afternoon of Alumni day, dedicated the newly completed Lincoln Terrace; at this service a fitting tribute was also paid to the men in service from the University who had returned to share in the exercises. For this occasion a considerable booklet was prepared containing much material concerning Lincoln and an honor roll of the "gold star" University men, who gave their lives during the Great War for the sake of liberty. During

the exercises an impressive pageant was formed by young women students, each bearing a gold star surrounded by a wreath; these they heaped at the foot of the Lincoln statue as the Dean of the college of liberal arts called a name for each star so placed. At the same time the great service flag with its four thousand stars, one hundred twenty-five of which are gold, slowly unrolled across the façade of University Hall. The booklet containing this program also presents the "Lincoln Ode," by Professor Leonard of the University; an article on "Lincoln in Wisconsin"; the history of the Lincoln monument on the campus; and other relevant material.

THE WIDER FIELD

The twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at St. Louis, May 8-10, 1919. Among the papers scheduled of more particular interest to Wisconsin readers were: "Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier," by W. P. Shortridge of St. Louis; "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War," by L. B. Shippee of Minneapolis; "Jefferson Davis and Wisconsin," by M. M. Quaife of Madison; and "The Jesuit in the Mississippi Valley," by Laurence Kenny, S. J. of St. Louis. At the business session of the association M. M. Quaife was elected president for the coming year and Greencastle, Indiana, was chosen for the annual meeting place of 1920.

Several interesting articles are found in the March *Indiana Magazine of History*. Elmore Barce supplies a valuable account of "The Old Chicago Trail and the Old Chicago Road." The concluding section of Ernest Stewart's history of the Populist party in Indiana is given in this number. Another article worthy of mention is an account of the militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860, by Paul T. Smith.

A ninety-page article on "The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and their Neighbors" comprises the greater portion of the June issue of this journal. A second but much shorter paper tells of the work of the American Marines on the battle-fields of France.

The March *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a detailed narrative of the efforts of Asa Whitney to procure the building of a railway from Lake Michigan to the Pacific in the years 1845-50, which should prove of particular interest to Wisconsin readers. Two other articles having direct application to this section are Martha Edwards' "Religious Forces in the United States, 1815-1830," and E. M. Coulter's "Commercial Intercourse with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley, 1861-65."

The April issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contain several interesting articles. The longest is a biographical accoun of Dan H. Ball, Marquette's pioneer lawyer. The story of "Th Council Pine: A Legend," is told by Charles E. Belknap. Willian L. Jenks writes of "Legislation by Governor and Judges" in th territorial period; while Professor Larzelere gives the history of Mt Pleasant State Normal School.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April brings news o the acquisition by the University of Washington of the Bagley Col lection of Pacific Northwest History. Mr. Bagley, a native o Illinois, removed in boyhood to Oregon in 1852, and in 1860 t Seattle. A printer by trade, he early began collecting Pacific North west newspaper files; and these constitute perhaps the chief portio of his collection. So extensive are they that they cover the entire his tory of Washington Territory and State, and exceed in volume an importance the combined newspaper resources of all the publi libraries of Washington. Books, pamphlets, and manuscripts mak up the remainder of the collection. The prospect now assured of it permanent preservation in so appropriate a place as the University of Washington library should afford gratification to all who are in terested in the historical records of the great Northwest.

The issue of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for November, 191 appeared in April, 1919. Its contents are principally given over t the reprinting from the St. Peter *Minnesota Free Press* of 1858 o a series of sketches of Dakota Indians written by Stephen R. Riggs who was long a missionary among them.

CHIEF MAY-ZHUC-KE-GE-SHIG

From a photograph supplied by Theodore Beaulieu

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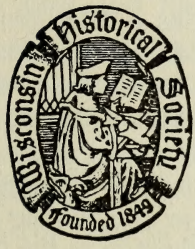

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE, Superintendent

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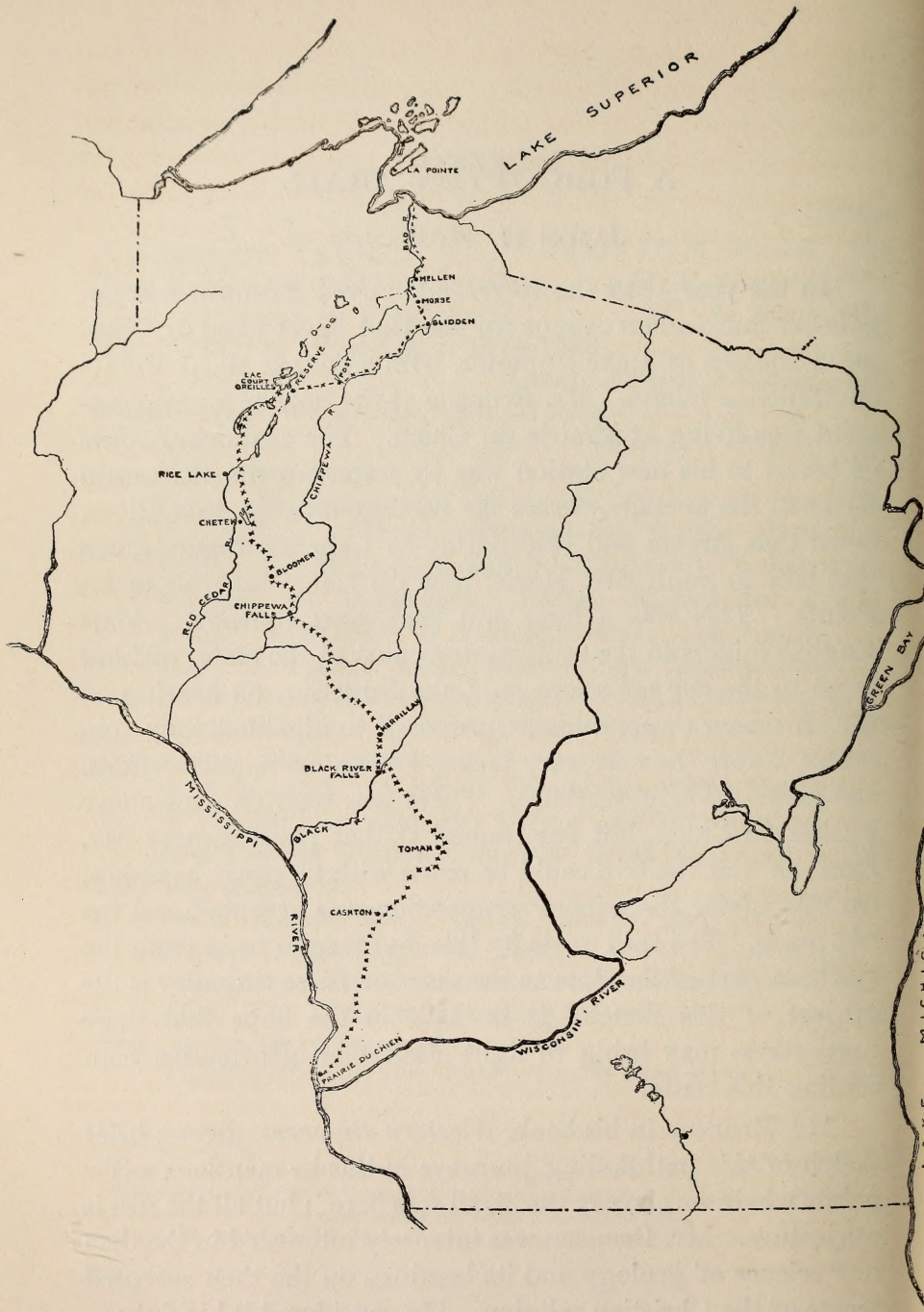
A FORGOTTEN TRAIL

JAMES H. MCMANUS

In the year 1842 the Reverend Alfred Brunson was appointed Sub-Indian Agent for the Bad River band of Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior, with a station at La Pointe on Madeline Island. Mr. Brunson at the time of his appointment was living at Prairie du Chien. The customary route of travel to his new station was by water up the Wisconsin River to the portage, across the portage into the Fox River, down that stream and Green Bay to Lake Michigan, down that lake to Sault Ste. Marie, then up Lake Superior to La Pointe. This was a long and hazardous journey. Some English miners in the southwestern part of the state, wishing to go to the copper mines on Lake Superior, on hearing of Mr. Brunson's appointment proposed to him that they join forces, secure the necessary teams, horses, oxen, and wagons, and make the trip overland. There was then no road above Prairie du Chien, but fur traders at that place assured Mr. Brunson that the trip could be made with no great hardship. On this advice the miners' proposition was accepted and the trip made. The trail made by this first wagon train from the southern part of the state to the shore of Lake Superior is the subject of this sketch. It is made in the hope that these suggestions may bring to light additional information concerning this route.

Mr. Brunson in his book, *Western Pioneers,* gives a brief sketch of this pathfinding journey; in this he mentions a few points where we can say the "trail was here"; but all the rest is conjecture. Mr. Brunson was intensely interested in the then new science of geology and its bearings on the then accepted tenets of the Christian religion. He considered it his duty to



THE FORGOTTEN TRAIL

Map prepared by Mary S. Foster of the State Historical Library

defend the orthodox faith against the statements of certain persons; he wrote this sketch of his journey rather to that end than to preserve a record of his own wonderful achievement in pioneering and trail blazing. Thus we find him using the natural objects seen on the way, such as rocks, soils, hills, and lakes, as illustrations and arguments in proof of the errors of his opponents, rather than as scenes for the pleasure, entertainment, and profit of his readers.

At the beginning of his sketch Mr. Brunson says, "We proceeded to the northern end of the prairie, then climbed the bluff to the height of land and kept on the ridge between the waters that flow into the Mississippi on the west, and those flowing into the Wisconsin on the east, to a point near the present site of the village of Tomah." I am not familiar with this section of the state[1] and can make no conjecture as to the location of this part of the trail. The next point Mr. Brunson mentions is a place on the Black River about five or six miles above the present city of Black River Falls; from this place the party moved down the river to the falls. Here it is quite certain that he and his comrades followed the line of the present highway or the lumberman's "tote road" which has been used from the earliest days to the present time. Mr. Brunson says that his party made a mistake in going so far up the Black River because they started east of this place at the point near Tomah, which was reached in making around the sources of the La Crosse River. Here then we must look for

[1] The old mail route from Prairie du Chien to Tomah and Black River Falls, called the Black River Falls road, went north out of Prairie du Chien on the old road marked on Lee's and Lyon's survey maps. At "farm lot No. 3" four and a half miles from the village, as marked on the maps, it reached Fisher's or Mill Coulee. Thence the road ran up that coulee onto a ridge where the present state road, route number nineteen, runs. It followed that route through Eastman, Seneca, Mount Sterling, Rising Sun (where the mail carriers changed horses) to Viroqua, estimated to be a distance of fifty-nine miles. From Viroqua the road is said to have gone about four miles east of Cashton, thence northeast to Tomah. This information is furnished us by the Reverend M. E. Fraser, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Prairie du Chien, who is much interested in our state history and gleaned the above facts from men who knew the early mail carriers.—Ed.

the trail on the high plateau which extends far to the north covered with scant jack pine and pin oak, patches of meadow with nutritious grasses fed by numerous clear creeks flowing from sources in cold spring marshes and surrounded by the ever present cliffs or bluffs—the remains of the ancient continent. Miss Ella, daughter of Mr. Brunson, in the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY for December, 1918, says of her father that "in after years he rode in the passenger trains of the Milwaukee Railroad through the tunnel west of Camp Douglas under the trail he made in 1843." I can hardly think that the party with its teams and wagons ascended this ridge, but rather that Mr. Brunson must have gone there for observation, which is a very reasonable conjecture. He may have used for that purpose many of these bluffs and ridges which are striking features of this plateau. We can with reason suppose that the party rested for a night at the foot of this bluff and in the morning took a course northeast to about the line of the Omaha Railroad and followed that line nearly north to the point where the old line swings west to cross the Black River just above the falls. At this point Brunson's party must have held north on the line of what is known as the "cut-off," or new line, leaving the falls to the west in order to reach the point five miles above. Upon reaching the falls the party found a company of Mormons operating a sawmill, getting out lumber for their colony at Nauvoo, Illinois. This was the white man's outpost on the Black River at that time.

These Mormon lumbermen ferried the party across the river and requested Mr. Brunson to preach for them. That sermon was the first sermon ever preached by other than a Mormon elder in the Black River Valley. The course of the party from the falls probably lay to the northwest along the present line of railroad to the village of Merrillan. This is determined by the fact that to the west lay a line of cliffs and ridges that would have prevented swinging in that direction. On the other side, about ten miles above the falls, the river

emerges from what at that time was the southern border of the Wisconsin forest tract in which it has its source and through which it flows to the head of what is known as the Mormon Riffles, a two-mile reach of white water, confined within high walls of the oldest rocks, just below the present village of Hatfield, now the site of a great power plant. It must have been at this place that the Mormons cut their logs and floated them down to their mill at the falls; that act is commemorated and their sect perpetuated by the name given to this long stretch of swift water. The border of the forest continues west for about ten miles along the north side of a line of high bluffs to about the site of the present village of Merrillan. The men at the falls would have informed Brunson of this barrier due north; and he would have set his course for the pass at Merrillan where the line of bluffs from the east nearly meets the ridges from the south. This gap could be seen from a great distance and must have guided the party to the pass. At Merrillan the border of the forest turned sharply to the north and continued in that direction, deviating just enough from it to give grace and beauty to the contour far up the Chippewa River until, as we shall see, it swung to the west on the upper reaches of that stream and crossed the Red Cedar to join the western section of the north woods.

The ever present, impressive, and determining feature of the experiences of the travelers from the point at Merrillan must have been the forest, along the western border of which the trail must have lain. Every stream, large or small, came from the forest like a human life out of the vast unknown. A trail in the forest at this point would have been impossible for any wagon party at that time; while anywhere in the great sand plain to the west, with short detours around small groves of jack pine and pin oak, one could have traveled with ease, scarcely using an ax to clear the way. Thus the constant, unerring guide that directed the party to the course a little west of north was the forest. It still stands in its dense and

thrifty second growths, throwing a mantle of charity over the sin of man in destroying "the forest primeval" that Brunson's party beheld in its sublime beauty and glory.

From Merrillan the trail must have followed the line of the railroad to a point near Augusta or Fall Creek, where it held to the north to the crossing of the Eau Claire River, which is the next point mentioned by Mr. Brunson. This crossing was made by building a raft of logs for whatever the party wished to keep dry, then by swimming the cattle and horses and by dragging the wagons across. The site of this crossing must have been where the stream emerges from the forest some miles east of the present Eau Claire City, for Mr. Brunson says that later "from the high hills east of the Chippewa we saw the new barn of Mr. Warren, a fur trader, located at the falls of that stream," to which point they directed their course, crossing the Chippewa River on their way. Mr. Brunson mentions his surprise at finding in the home of Mr. Warren a fine library of the best books of the time.[2]

From the Warren post the course of the party would have been directed by Mr. Warren. His information would have included the fact that the line of the forest crossed the Chippewa River a few miles above and ran nearly due west, and that the angle where it turned again to the north was to be found to the northwest, near the present site of the village of Bloomer. The two striking features of the landscape through which this early party passed—forest and plain—still exist; and it is on the eastern side of the sand plain that we must look for the trail, for the forbidding forest crowds too far

[2] William Whipple Warren was the descendant of New Englanders who came over in the *Mayflower*. His mother was a French-Chippewa halfbreed, and he was born at the La Pointe village on Madeline Island. He was educated in New York under the care of his paternal grandfather and later became the historian of his mother's race. For a complete biographical sketch see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V, 9-20. The mention of a large private library in the wilderness brings to mind the fact that the Knapp family, who afterwards located in this vicinity, were great lovers of books and collected a notable library of good books.—Ed.

to the west to allow a direct line to the destination on Lake Superior.

The first point mentioned in the Brunson narrative north of the falls of the Chippewa is the pipestone quarry in Barron County. This claylike substance, soft when it is taken from its native beds, may be formed into any shape with a common knife, but on longer exposure to the air soon becomes hard and resistant. It is found at the east end of a large bluff or mound about six miles southeast of the city of Rice Lake. The present writer, though never at the quarry, has many times been past the place, which was about three miles from the old Chippewa Falls, Sumner, and Rice Lake road. The first time I saw the place was in the fall of 1879, the bluff looming high with rugged grandeur. But between the road and the bluff was that almost impenetrable, nameless something men called a "slashing." That expanse of desolation, the product of the so-called lumber barons, in other words the "Huns" of the north woods, extended about two miles beyond and all around the bluff. Beyond this, the forest in all its primitive majesty, beauty, and glory lay, just as Brunson and his party must have found its border at their feet when in 1843 they stood where I did in 1879. The place is just above one of the headsprings of the Pokegama Creek, at the angle where the line of the forest turns sharply to the west and continues in that direction across the Red Cedar River, cutting off the sand plain to the north and joining the lobe of the forest west of that stream, whose eastern border trends southwest to the Mississippi River in Pepin County and forms the western boundary of the sand plain.

A new problem now confronted the party. They were to leave the open plain and enter the forest; for in this latitude there is no break in the forest from the Michigan state line on the east to that of Minnesota on the west. At this point, however, the passage through the forest was scarcely more difficult than that over the plain. I have driven over the

ridges in that same forest with a horse and buggy, with only occasionally the use of an ax to clear the way. So, in that open forest, to the bluff and the pipestone quarry, a distance of three miles, the party could have passed in an hour. The rays of the sun were shut out even at noonday by the intertwining branches and the leaves overhead; while below, the ground was covered with a carpet of pine needles and dry brown leaves, accumulations of the long-past years.

While our party rests at the quarry we will retrace our steps to a point near the present village of Cartwright, in order to suggest that the Brunson party was following a more or less well-defined trail made by Indians, hunters, trappers, and fur traders, from any of whom information may have been received regarding the way. In fact the frequent recurrence of earthworks or tumuli found at intervals in all this region suggests that we are but tracing one of the most ancient highways of travel on this continent, Brunson and his party being but part of the great throng of the ages that had passed this way. In 1879 there were two roads from Cartwright leading to Rice Lake, then the white man's northern outpost in this region and his first station in the invasion of the forest from the south. One of these ran to the northwest, passing through the village of Chetek; the other ran north, keeping to the east of the large lake system north of Chetek village. These lakes lie in the form of a large letter U with the open end to the north and with their connecting waterways stretch across eighteen miles from point to point. This lake system has to be taken into account in locating the trail. Brunson seems to have taken the eastern trail, doubtless choosing it because he was already too far west for his destination. If he did not go this way it is hard to see how he could have reached the pipestone quarry, as by the other route he would have passed six miles west and some distance north of the quarry, at the head of the lakes. Another consideration is the fact that if he had gone the western route he would have been

pushed up to the outlet of Lake Chetek by a large swamp on the east side of the stream flowing out of the lake where the village is now located. Had Brunson been at this point he could not have failed to note the unusual number of mounds all along the southern and western sides of the lakes, those on the eastern side of the outlet forming a veritable city covering one hundred acres of ground, with almost regular streets. So it appeared when I saw it for the first time in 1879. The hands of vandals have swept the ancient city of mounds away, but the ground of the fields is covered with beautifully marked pieces of broken pottery, while many other relics of the past are still to be found. For these reasons we think that our party passed to the east of Lake Chetek, where the land is high and abounds in deep ravines which must have held the party too far away for them to have seen the lakes. However, at the old village of Sumner, six miles above the northern end of the lakes, the line of the forest would have pushed them out onto the high sand plain on the bank of Pokegama Creek; so that here we may say they stood and looked down on the beautiful lake and creek in the valley; though when we saw it the lake was much enlarged by reason of the dam at the mill. From here the trail must have run due north to the pipestone quarry.

From the quarry the course lay almost due north some ten miles to where Brunson says they crossed the Red Cedar River just below a chain of lakes. The first of these was Red Cedar Lake, out of which the river flows in a broad stream through a wide, picturesque valley covered with great pines seven to eight feet in diameter. Many of the largest of these stand on mounds, several of which are clustered around the outlet. These mounds may have escaped the notice of Brunson because of the dense forest covering them; or he may have crossed the river a little below the outlet where the present highway passes.

Lac Court Oreilles, the next point mentioned in the narrative, lies a little east of north from the outlet of Red Cedar Lake. It seems reasonable to think that the party was following the fur traders' trail, and if so, such a trail would follow the shortest line to the open sand plain north of the forest, a distance of about twenty-five miles due north. This route would bring the party to the lower end of Long Lake in Washburn County, along the southeastern bank of which it would then lie for some nine miles. Long Lake is in fact, or would be if no obstruction were in the west fork of the Red Cedar River where it flows out of the lower end of the lake, only a chain of small lakes, some of which are very deep and contain native whitefish. An old flood dam of the lumbermen still holds the water up to the level of the sluiceway floor, flooding all the marshes in the valley and making one continuous lake. Before the white man came with his dam, the beavers doubtless maintained a dam of equal height; so Brunson may have seen the lake beautiful. In going up the shore of the lake to the head, the party passed through the northern border of one of the most beautiful lake regions in Wisconsin. It covers about two townships of land. The lakes for the most part are small, but the land is a high sand and gravel plain. The water in the lakes is clear as crystal, and they have clean sandy beaches. The slopes of their high banks on the south and west sides are covered with a vigorous growth of birch, maple, oak, linden, and pine; the other sides have few trees but are covered with heavy growths of grasses down to the almost white sand and gravel shore line. Between the lakes, at the time of the visit of our party, dense groves of Norway pine were scattered over the plain. Although Long Lake now boasts a fine modern hotel and is a famous summer resort, few of the people who visit this region escape the lure of the charms of this wonderful playground. Here, too, must have been a hunter's paradise. Even today the traveler in the summer can see herds of deer in these plains

feeding in peace and security on the nutritious blue grass of the upland; in the autumn and winter the same herds are found in the borders of the forest browsing upon the tender bark of the young maples, lindens, and red cherries. Partridges were found in every copse; waterfowl covered all the lakes and streams. Fur bearing animals abounded, and beaver were found on every stream. On the highland today far away from any stream and in the valleys just below grass meadows are still found the remnants of their dams, showing that in the past there were living streams of water where fertile fields lie today.

From the head of Long Lake to Lac Court Oreilles the trail lay in a northeast direction over the sand plain with its lakes, streams, marshes, and groves of Norway pine. The narrative states that at Court Oreilles a messenger met the party, who urged Mr. Brunson to hasten to La Pointe with all speed, as officers from Washington were expected to arrive and would require his presence. So with two Indians in a canoe he took his way across lakes, through many narrow water courses, over portages, along creeks and rivers, until he reached the upper stretches of the Bad River near the site of the present village of Morse; then down that river through the Penokee Gap with its mad white waters on the rapids and madder, whiter, and wilder waters at the foot of its many falls, the scene approaching mountain grandeur with its broken crags and towering cliffs covered with wide-spreading hemlocks, pines, spruces, and balsams. As Brunson saw it, no destroyer's ax had been laid at the root of any tree of the primitive forest that stood in its grandeur on the tops of the cliffs and in all the valleys. No canoe could live in that madly rushing water, so the passage of the gap was made by portaging for some miles to a point at the foot of the high falls below the present city of Mellen, whence one might float on nearly smooth water to Lake Superior where the passage led up the lake to La Pointe.

The disappointing part of the narrative is that Mr. Brunson leaves the men of his party with their stock and wagons at Lac Court Oreilles. They must in time have reached Lake Superior, for at the outset of the narrative he says that "the wagons created great excitement among the Indians of the lake, they being the first ever to arrive among them." We can only conjecture the route over which they passed.[8] On a geological map of Northern Wisconsin, published in 1872, is marked a state road running from Ashland near to the southwest corner of Ashland County. The other end of this road is not marked; but we know that it did run on to the southwest to Lac Court Oreilles and thence to St. Croix Falls.

Did Brunson's party pass on that route north from Lac Court Oreilles and mark the way? If they did, the trail lay on the high open ridges along the east side of the Namakagon River, around its sources, and to the south and west of the sources of the White River and Fish Creek, crossing the latter stream some miles above Chequamegon Bay. On many hunting and fishing trips I have tramped over these ridges and across these valleys in the open forest before the destroying ax had done its work and know how few obstructions would have been met. At one time on the ridges to the west of Fish Creek, to which stream I with a single companion was making my way, we came upon this old state road, then abandoned, with its ruts cut deep in the tenacious clay soil, exposing the roots of the trees. There was no sign of ax or saw where a way had been cut; but the track wound in and out among and around the stately trees. Here and there deep gashes were made in the sides of trees where the hubs of

[8] From Henry Rush, Reserve, Wisconsin, we obtain (June, 1919) the information that the land route from Lac Court Oreilles to Chequamegon in the early period ran from Reserve eastward to the post on the Chippewa River; thence in a northwesterly direction to the site of the modern Glidden, in Ashland County; thence northerly to Mellen, and on in a general northerly direction to Chequamegon Bay.—Ed.

the wagons in passing had worn away the wood during many years.

As we followed the old trail I thought of all that had passed that way of merchandise, of tokens of exchange and measure of man's wealth, of high state officials and lowly folk, of stage coaches bearing messages of business, friendship, hatred, love, and sorrow; for this was once the only line of connection between the region of the Mississippi and the region of the lake. Here had passed age in its weakness, young manhood in its strength, and beauty in its charm; now all was unknown and forgotten. The road, finally leaving the ridge, swung to the right down a long, crooked, and narrow valley, crossing many times a stream of crystal-clear water, out into the wide valley of Fish Creek to the bank of that stream, down a steep pitch to the end of an old, nearly decayed bridge, the center supports of which with the center spans were gone, leaving one end of the land spans resting on the rude log supports, while the other ends rested in the water. Over this old bridge in the days of its strength had been carried through the eventful years of the past the white man's treasures and the red man's despairs.

I sat myself down on the bridge's crumbling supports upon its west side, and asked, Did Brunson's party pass this way? Were their wagons the first to break the silence of this ancient forest with the noise of modern commerce? Did they ford the stream here and pause to let the weary, patient oxen slake their thirst with draughts of the cool water and then pass on along the highland bordering the vast swamp at the head of the bay to the present site of the city of Ashland, thence to the high ground nearest to La Pointe? Was it this way they went? Or did they follow the fairly open way with its deep-cut valleys over the western shoulder of the Penokee hills, on the line of the Omaha Railroad to Ashland? Or did they go north to the foothills of the great northern divide and then east along its southern slopes, crossing the

Bad River just above where it enters the gap, and so on east to the line of the present highway over the ridge to the site of the city of Mellen, thence down the divide between the streams flowing into the Bad River on the east and those flowing into the White River on the west to the present Indian village of Odanah, where were the Indian fields of corn and vegetables in those old days? Who knows where lay the forgotten trail? Or do any care?

THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

IS IT THE OLDEST NATIVE DOCUMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY?

H. R. Holand

One of the most interesting questions that has appeared in the historical field in many years is the one popularly known as the Kensington Rune Stone. It is now twenty-one years since it first came to light and during the first ten it lay still-born and utterly discredited as a crude forgery. Since then, however, it has not only come to life but has survived numerous attacks by learned critics, until it now is a subject of debate by experts of two continents.

The object of this review is to present the latest phases of the discussion concerning the rune stone to the readers of the Wisconsin Magazine of History, but I am in a quandary as to where I should begin. Some of our readers are quite familiar with the various stages of the controversy but I understand that the greater number have merely heard its name. In view of this, perhaps a very brief introduction of the subject will be desirable.

The Kensington Rune Stone is a slab of graywacke about thirty inches long, seventeen inches wide, and seven inches thick. It weighs about two hundred and thirty pounds. Three-fifths of the length of its face is covered by an inscription in very neat runic characters. This inscription is continued for a similar distance on one of its sides. The uninscribed two-fifths of its length was evidently intended to be planted in the ground.

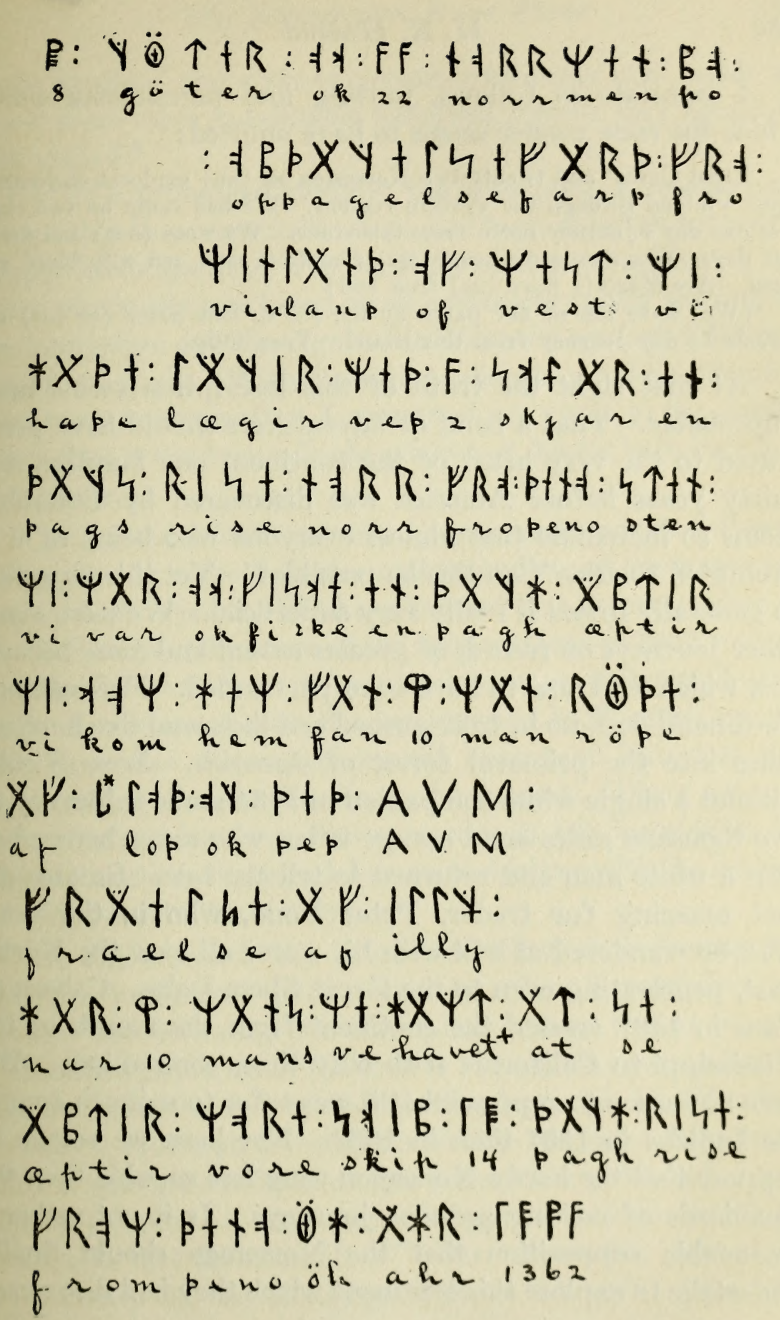
The stone was found by a farmer by the name of Olaf Ohman, who lives about three or four miles northeast of Kensington, a station on the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie Railway, in the west central part of Minne-

sota. He was grubbing stumps on his land which consists i part of a rolling elevation surrounded by a marsh. I grubbing out a poplar tree, about eight to ten inches i diameter, he found the stone on this elevation just beneat the surface of the ground, lying with the inscribed face dowr ward, closely embraced by the roots of the tree.

The find was soon brought to the attention of a number o learned men of the time. Strangely enough, the decipherin of the inscription seemed to present great difficulties to thes men, who were unable to read a large portion of it. The made out, however, that the inscription mentioned Vinland– the name which Leif Ericson in the year 1000 bestowed upo a certain portion of the Atlantic coast of America. As th language employed, or as much of it as was made out, wa plainly not that of Leif Ericson's tongue, the inscription wa quickly pronounced a clumsy forgery. The stone wa returned to Mr. Ohman, therefore, who made of it a suitabl doorstep to his granary.

Nine years later I chanced to be in that vicinity in searc of material for my history of the Norwegian settlements i America. The old runic hoax was recalled to me; and as I fo years had been interested in the study of runes, I obtaine the stone from Mr. Ohman as an interesting souvenir.

When I returned home and deciphered the inscription m amusement changed to amazement for I decided that it wa not a clumsy forgery dealing with Leif Ericson's discover of America in the year 1000, but that it contained a dramati recital of an expedition into the middle of the continent in th year 1362! The language and runes of Leif Ericson's tim could easily have been imitated as we have a multitude o patterns of both; but the date 1362 is a peculiarly difficult one not only linguistically and runologically, but also historically What an unheard of date in which to locate Norsemen i America! This forger, if he was one, was evidently a mos courageous man. The following is a copy of the inscriptio with interlinear transliteration:



* This character has suffered so much from weathering as to be illegible.
† The runic character for *e* in this word was inadvertently omitted in making this copy.

I translate as follows, putting into parentheses words which the rune master seems to have omitted:

Eight Goths[1] and twenty-two Norsemen on (an) exploration-journey from Vinland through the western regions. We had camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were (out) and fished one day. When we came home (we) found ten men, red with blood and dead. Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!

(We) have ten of our party by the sea to look after (or for) our vessels 14 day journey from this island. Year 1362.

At first sight the truth of this inscription seems most improbable. That a band of adventurers should have penetrated to the very heart of the continent one hundred and thirty years before America was discovered by Columbus seems so incredible that almost everyone who hears of it is prompted to ask, "Can this be possible?" Yet this objection so generally urged is really very superficial. We have many other journeys on record, of greater extent and more hazardous, which we know to have been performed. For instance, Ferdinand de Soto in 1542 pushed one thousand five hundred miles into the primeval forest of America. Jean Nicolet without a single white companion in 1634 made a journey of two thousand miles amid savage tribes who never before had seen a white man and returned to tell the tale. So also did that amazing fur trader, Peter Pond, who in the years 1773-86 wandered at will with his wares all over the Northwest, penetrating even to the Great Slave Lake. Cabeza de Vaca in 1537 crossed the continent from the mouth of the Mississippi to California with only three companions. We have no reason to suppose that it was safer to sojourn among the Indians in 1537 than in 1362. Nor have we reason to suppose that the hardy Norsemen were less capable than the Spaniards of making arduous journeys. Is it not rather a reasonable supposition that the Norsemen should finally undertake to explore this continent which they had discovered

[1] i.e., native to West Gothland in the southwestern part of Sweden. In the fourteenth century this was an independent province, united with a part of Norway under one king.

three hundred and sixty-two years previously and which we know from other indubitable historical records they occasionally visited?[2]

After a prolonged study of the inscription I became convinced that this remarkable stone had been rejected without a proper investigation. The verdict pronounced against it ten years previously was based on an extremely faulty reading of the inscription and the arguments advanced against it did not, therefore, apply. With the hope of directing public attention once more to the matter, I presented my views to the public. Since then it has been a lively subject of debate both here and in Europe.

Out of the widely extended controversy which followed has gradually come a clearer understanding of the surrounding field of research. We have learned that the vernacular of South Sweden (the home of the rune master) in 1362 was not greatly different from its modern language, being analogous in its development with the same period of English speech. We have also discovered several important historical side lights which serve to illuminate the subject. There are now many men of learning who recognize in this inscription the oldest American historical document dealing with the coming of white men to this country.

In this research the Minnesota Historical Society has taken a prominent part. Shortly after I published my reasons for believing the inscription a true record of pre-Columbian exploration the society appointed a committee of five members, headed by the late Professor N. H. Winchell, to make a thorough investigation of the subject. After more than a year's investigation this committee published a preliminary report of sixty printed pages, concluding with the resolution that the committee "takes a favorable view of the authenticity of the Kensington Rune Stone." After this

[2] The last historical voyage to America was made in 1347; see *Islandske Annaler*, edited by Professor Gustav Storm.

report appeared in print the inscription was the subject of much argument both at home and abroad. The committee therefore waited almost two years before rendering its final report. After all arguments on both sides seemed to have been presented, the committee published its final report, reaffirming in positive terms its conviction that the inscription is genuine.[3]

The committee's report is especially valuable for the light it throws on the geological and topographical conditions which center around the stone and which the committee finds to be strong evidence in favor of the inscription. It also adopts and amplifies the theory that the explorers came by way of Hudson Bay.[4] The committee has been criticised for not having had any competent scholar in Scandinavian languages present at its sittings. However, it had a better way. Instead of relying on any one scholar who might be unduly prejudiced for or against the stone the committee obtained opinions on all mooted linguistic questions from as many supposed experts on both sides as possible. With these opinions before it the committee was able to give them the impartial consideration of a judicial review.

LINGUISTIC OBJECTIONS

Aside from the superficial argument that such an expedition is too improbable to be true the most general criticism has been against the linguistic aspects of the inscription. Different words have been pointed out to show that the language is not in accordance with fourteenth century usage. The weakness of this line of criticism is the lack of agreement among the critics. What one critic has pointed to as a serious anachronism has been admitted to be perfectly legitimate by another.

[3] Both reports with many illustrations are printed in the *Minnesota Historical Collections,* XV, 221-86.

[4] This theory was first advanced by Professor Andrew Fossum in an article printed in the Northfield (Minn.) *Norwegian-American,* Oct. 9. 1909. I shall later in this discussion point out further evidence in support of this theory.

An illustration of these linguistic arguments we have in the so-called English words on the stone. These are "mans," "from," "illy," and "of vest." These words were for years the most controverted parts of the inscription; many critics have pointed to them as the strongest evidence that the inscription can not be genuine. By the use of these words they claimed the rune master has proved himself a forger—that he must have been an immigrant who had already become so Americanized he could no longer write his mother tongue. However, when these words were submitted to Professors Södervall, Kock, and Jonsson, the most eminent philologists of Sweden and Denmark, they recognized them as rare and antique forms sporadically occurring in the dialects of the fourteenth century, showing an intimate acquaintance with obsolete forms on the part of the rune master.[5] The linguistic forms of the inscription have indeed proved a boomerang to its critics. As one of the most eminent professors of Scandinavian languages in this country, not a believer in the inscription, said: "There is not a man who has criticised the language of the rune stone who has not burned his fingers."

It is reasonable to suppose that the men mentioned in the inscription were wandering soldiers and sailors gathered from different parts of Norway and Sweden (Gothland). Their orthography, grammar, and phonetics may therefore be supposed to partake of the irregular, careless forms characteristic of such roving people. It is therefore as unreasonable to judge the language of such men by the conventional literary forms of the monastic clerks of that period as it would now be to compare the language of an illiterate soldier of fortune with that of a college professor. Notwithstanding these eccentricities of speech it is possible to justify the presence

[5] For a full discussion of these and other criticized words see my article entitled, "Are There English Words On the Kensington Rune-Stone?" in *Records of the Past*, IX, 240-45; "The Kensington Rune-Stone Abroad," *Ibid.*, X, 260-71. See also Professor Fossum's able analysis in the *Norwegian-American*, Feb. 24, 1911.

of every word in the inscription with one exception with the speech of Bohuslæn, Sweden, of the Middle Ages. This one exception is the word *opdage*. It has not been found in any of the literary remains of that period. Södervall, the Noah Webster of Sweden, says that while the word looks suspicious, he knows of no other word in use at that time expressing the same idea. It has been suggested that the word is a loan from the Dutch or East-Friesian where it early occurs.[6] As there was much commerce between Scandinavian and Dutch and Friesian ports sailors would be among the first to pick up such words. We have diaries written by Scandinavian seamen of the Middle Ages in which Dutch and German words frequently occur, showing that such loans were common.[7] Personally I do not believe it is a loan from these countries as the word occurs in the form *updaaga* in the dialects of Upper Telemarken and other remote parts of Norway where the speech has had an autochthonous development with but very few loans from abroad.

The present meaning of the word *opdage* is "to discover," but in all the dialects of the Middle Ages mentioned in the above paragraph it had a different meaning. It then meant "to reveal, to come to light, to make known." This is exactly the meaning of the word as it is used on the rune stone. These adventurers did not set out "to discover" a prospective objective, but were on a journey "to make known," "to bring to light," "to reveal" a terra incognita. The word I use in translating it—"exploration-journey"—is only approximately correct.

THE DALECARLIAN THEORY

The most elaborate attack on the Kensington stone is an address delivered by Professor G. T. Flom before the Illinois

[6] See *Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, XI, 407-11; *Wørterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache;* and *Kalkars Ordbog over det Danske Sprog i Middelalderen.*

[7] See for instance the diary of Alexander Leyell, telling of his journey to Greenland in 1605, which abounds in Dutch loan-words.

State Historical Society and later printed by him.[8] The chief feature of this address is an attempt to prove that the inscription is the modern fabrication of a native of the district of Dalarne in Sweden in which district the use of runes sporadically existed down to the close of the eighteenth century. Professor Flom is so positive in his belief that he has identified the runes and language of the Kensington stone with those of Dalarne that he feels able to name the parish from which the runic forger hailed. We shall quickly see how correct he is in his identification.

For proof Professor Flom refers to the Dalecarlian alphabets as given by Liljegren and Ihre-Götlin. Unfortunately he omits to print these so that the reader may collate the Kensington alphabet with them. We will therefore do so now. In the accompanying table I give these alphabets exactly as they are reproduced by Professor Noreen in his exhaustive discussion of the Dalecarlian runes in *Fornvænnen* for 1906.

A glance at these alphabets will convince the reader that the writer of the Kensington inscription did not get his runic lore from them. Instead of identity we find here such disparity in form that no runic inscription of the Middle Ages is more dissimilar to the Kensington alphabet than are the Dalecarlian inscriptions. Only *b, h, i, m,* and *r* are identical in form; *a, d, f, t,* and *ø* are of the same type but show variations, while *c, g, k, l, o, p, q, v, x, y, z, æ,* and *å* show more or less recent fantastic forms approaching in many cases the printed Latin forms which came into use. In some cases the character representing one letter has been adopted to represent another; thus we have the character for *h* adopted to represent *å,* and the *s* has been attributed to *x*.

When we compare the linguistic forms of Dalarne with those of the Kensington inscription Flom's theory proves

[8] Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1910, 105-25.

LILJEGREN

IHRE-GÖTLIN

KENSINGTON

a b c d,th e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z ä ö

equally untenable. To be brief there are two convincing proofs why the Kensington scribe has not employed the dialect of Dalarne. The first is that for the last three hundred years the aspirate *h* has dropped out of the Dalecarlian speech.[9] In contrast to this we find the Kensington inscription abounding in aspirates such as *hem, har, hade, havet, dagh, öh, ahr,* etc. The other is that the word-forms in Dalarne are in many cases very different. If the inscription were in the dialect of Dalarne, we would find *ema* for *hem, ela* for *illy, menn* for *man, ør* for *ahr, sjå* for *se, vesto* for *vest, nordo* for *nord, resa* for *rise, duœ* for *dedh, voro* for *var, bluœd* for *blodh, kumo* for *kom, ver* for *vi, sker* for *skjær, esu* for *deno, sen* for *havet,* etc.[10] No Swedish dialect is further from the Kensington inscription than the Dalecarlian.

IS SUCH AN EXPEDITION HISTORICALLY PROBABLE?

The most remarkable thing about this inscription is its date. Removed as it is more than three hundred years from the time of the Norse discoveries of America it seemed so remote, so incompatible with known facts, that this more than anything else prejudiced the critical mind against it. For years it was treated as the wild guess of some simpleton, ignorant of the most elementary facts in early American history.

A careful study of documents dealing with the history of Greenland, however, sheds light on this apparent absurdity and shows that the date is most fitting. We learn from these documents that immediately prior to the date on the rune stone there was a great revival of Greenland commerce. Traffic to America was again resumed, or, at least, America was again discovered; a Norse expedition sent out by the king was actually in American waters in 1362. To under-

[9] See Boethius, Levander, and Noreen in their joint discussion of Dalecarlian inscriptions in *Fornvœnnen* 1906, 63-91.

[10] See Noreen's *Ordlista Ofver Dalmålet.*

stand these documents a brief glance at Greenland's history i necessary.

Greenland was settled in the latter part of the tenth century and soon became quite populous. The colony wa divided into two parts, known as the Eastern and the Western settlements, both of them, however, lying on the west coast o Greenland. The Eastern settlement was the larger, containing twelve parishes and churches, several nunneries and monasteries, and a resident bishop. This lay a short distance west of Cape Farwell. About four hundred miles farther northwest lay the Western settlement, containing three churches. During the first two hundred years of its history we find frequent mention of Greenland in Icelandic annals and chronicles, showing that intercourse between the two countries was frequent.[11] Little by little this intercourse seems to have ceased until toward the end of the thirteenth century we read only at long intervals the meager mention o the ordination of a new bishop for Greenland.

Under date of 1309 we are informed that the bishop o Greenland has returned to Norway. A new bishop i ordained and sails for Greenland.[12] No further mention i made of Greenland for more than thirty years; not even the archbishop knew whether the Greenland bishop was still alive Under date of 1343 we come to the next entry, stating that a new bishop for Greenland was ordained. Later it adds that this was a mistake as the old bishop was still alive.[13] It also adds that the new bishop was unable to find transportation to Greenland and never reached his charge. This shows that commerce and intercourse between the two countries had at that time almost ceased.

[11] See particularly *Floamanna Saga, Fostbrœdra Saga,* also various *Thætti* in *Flateyarbok.*

[12] See Flatey *Annals* and other annals under given date.

[13] See Flatey *Annals;* Skalholt *Annals;* the annals copied by Bishop Skulesor (A.M.410,4); also A.M.411,4; 417,4; and 429,4 under 1342 and 1343.

About this time, however, we come to a great improvement in the relations of the mother country with her distant colony. In the year 1341 the Bishop of Bergen, alarmed, perhaps, at not hearing anything from his old friend, the Bishop of Greenland, selected one of the trustiest priests of his diocese and sent him to Greenland "upon errands of the Church."[14] This priest was Ivar Bardsen to whose account we are principally indebted for what we know of Greenland in the Middle Ages. The letter gives the impression that Bardsen was expected to make only a brief sojourn in Greenland and then return. However, we find later that he remained there many years as business manager of the large properties that belonged to the Greenland cathedral.[15]

Ivar Bardsen gives a cheerful account of the conditions of the Eastern settlement, showing it to be in prosperous circumstances. He presumably sent a similar report back to his superior in Bergen. This probably explains the revival of Greenland's commerce which immediately followed. In 1344 a merchant by the name of Thord Egilsson made a trip from Bergen to Greenland and returned the same year with much goods. The following year a very large merchant vessel was fitted out in Bergen and sailed for Greenland. In 1346 it returned with "an immense amount of goods." As the king at that time lived in Bergen these things would no doubt come under his personal observation. It also seems that the profits of these Greenland traders were so large that the king decided to reserve the trade as his special monopoly. This he did by proclamation in 1348.

Some time after Ivar Bardsen reached Greenland he was commissioned by the chief public officer of the colony to proceed with a company of men to the Western settlement for the purpose of driving the Eskimos out of this settlement. When

[14] A copy of his letter commending his messenger to the good will of all concerned is found in the Bartholin MSS. Tomen Litr. E. S. 479, Copenhagen.

[15] We find him back again in Norway in 1364 where he is recorded as being a witness in a legal trial.

he and his men reached the Western settlement they found i entirely depopulated. Neither Norsemen nor Eskimos wer found; but instead they found an abundance of cattle an sheep wandering about without care.[16]

There is nothing in the account to suggest that the colo nists had been massacred by the Eskimos. No bloodshed i mentioned, and there is no evidence of plunder. In fact thi presumption is excluded as Ivar Bardsen found the cattle an sheep grazing about in great number. This shows that Bard sen's party must have reached the colony only a short tim after the disappearance of the inhabitants as domestic animal could scarcely survive the severe winters of Greenland, nin months long, without care. The fragmentary account tha is left to us gives absolutely no clew to what had happene there.

The answer to this question we find in a remarkable docu ment found in the cathedral of Skalholt, in Iceland. Thi cathedral was in the Middle Ages the great repository of Ice landic records and literary treasures. In 1630 it was destroye by fire, and a great mass of these documents perished. Bisho Gisle Oddson, who was born at Skalholt, being a son of th former bishop, Odd Einerson, was for many years officiatin in the cathedral and therefore had the fullest opportunity o becoming acquainted with its manuscripts. After the fire h made from memory a synopsis of some of the most remarkabl documents that were lost. The following is one of them:

1342. The inhabitants of Greenland fell voluntarily from the tru faith and the Christian religion and after having given up all good man

[16] Following are the exact words of the text: "Item dette alt, som forsag er sagde oss Iffver Bardsen GrønlÆnder, som var Forstander paa Bischobsgar den i Gardum paa Grønland udi mange Aar, at hand havde alt dette seett, oc hand var en af dennem, som var udneffender af Lagmanden, at fare til Veste bygden emod de Skrelinge, att uddriffve de Schrellinge udaff Vesterbygd; och d de komme didt, da funde de ingen mand, enten christen eller heden, uden noge villdt Fæ og Faaer, och bespissede sig aff det villdt Fæ, och toge saa meget son Schivene kunde berre, och zeylede saa dermed hjemb, och forschreffne Iffver va der med." See complete account printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerke* III, 248-60, from an old Danish translation of the sixteenth century contained i the Arne Magnean MSS. No. 777.

ners and true virtues turned to the people of America. Some say that Greenland lies very near to the western lands of the world.[17]

There can be no question that here we find an explanation of the disappearance of the people of the Western settlement as witnessed by Ivar Bardsen. Left to themselves in that dismal region, scarcely seeing a European vessel once in a generation, it is no wonder if they gave up the doubtful blessing of the Church which was incapable of ministering to them and turned "voluntarily" to a region whose favored nature was a common tradition. One of their chief needs was timber, both for building and for fuel; for this they had to depend upon the doubtful contribution of the sea. They knew that this timber came from America (Markland).[18] It would therefore be a most sensible decision to emigrate in a body to that place where all their needs would be easily supplied, taking with them what cattle they could.

It seems that this emigration of the western colonists resulted in trade relations being again resumed with America. Up to this time we have no mention in any record whatsoever of any vessel having sailed to America since Bishop Eric Upsi journeyed thither in 1121. However, five years after these colonists left for America we read of a vessel from Greenland which in 1347 "had been to Markland" (supposedly Nova Scotia or Southern Labrador).[19] This vessel, carrying a crew of eighteen men, on her return voyage to Greenland lost her anchor and drifted ashore in Iceland. The next year it sailed to Bergen, having for a passenger Jon Guttorm-

[17] "1342. Groenlandia incolæ a vera fide et religione christiana sponte sua defecerunt, et repudiatis omnibus honestis moribus et veris vertutibus ad Americæ populos se converterunt; existimant enim quidam Groenlandium adeo vicinam esse occidentalibus orbis regionius." The document was translated out of the original records by Finn Magnusen, the eminent editor-in-chief of *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker,* and is printed there for the first time in Vol. III, 459.

[18] There is an old account of the thirteenth century describing life in Greenland which mentions that the timber on which the Greenlanders depended "came out of the bays of Markland"; quoted in *Ibid.*, III, 243.

[19] This fact is recorded in six different Icelandic annals; see among them the Flatey *Annals,* the Skalholt *Annals,* and the Odda *Annals* under 1347.

son, a great chieftain of Iceland, who went to Bergen to see the king.

We can easily imagine that the arrival of this vessel must have been a great event. Here was a company of Greenlanders who could not only give a complete account of their own almost unknown country but could do much more. Here for the first time as far as we know stood men upon Norwegian soil who could from experience tell of America—that mysterious land across the sea where grew the luscious grape and the "self-sown wheat." They could tell of a land whose wealth of choice timber, rich fisheries, and fertile soil offered quite other favorable conditions of life than the bleak and barren shores of Greenland. No wonder that the king with such visions before him reserved trade with Greenland and the western lands as a private monopoly. We may also assume that he laid plans for immediately developing this monopoly and for extending his domains to the regions beyond.

However, that same year, 1348, there came to Bergen another vessel that gave the king quite other things to think about. This was the vessel which brought the terrible Black Plague to Norway. During the next few years this plague exacted a terrible toll in Norway, laying some sections of the land completely waste and paralyzing all industries. It also proved very fatal to shipping so that "many vessels had only four or five survivors."

These conditions prevented the king for some years from carrying out his plans towards his western lands. But we find that in 1354 he is again occupied with the project. We have left to us a letter from him empowering Paul Knutson, one of his most prominent military and legal officers, to fit out an expedition and sail to Greenland. The purpose is stated to be to preserve Christianity. "We do this to the honor of God and for the sake of our soul and our predeces-

sors who established Christianity in Greenland and *we will not now let it perish.*"[20]

The last words no doubt point to the spiritual salvation of the colonists of the Western settlement who in 1342 had apostatized from the true faith and emigrated to America.[21] To find them would necessitate an exploration of the Western settlement and subsequently of unknown parts of America to which they had emigrated. This, again, explains the presence of such a notable leader as Paul Knutson and also the long absence of the expedition from home. It left Norway in 1355 but was not again heard of, according to Professor Storm, until 1363 or 1364.[22]

If we assume that the expedition had only Greenland as an objective, it becomes very difficult to understand its long absence from home. Paul Knutson was a very important man of those times, being chief judicial officer of Gulathing (Gulathings Lagmand),[23] the largest judicial district, comprising all the western and central parts of Norway. He was also one of the king's *lendermænd* having in charge the administration of a large district near Bergen. Finally he was an officer in the king's army and a large landowner. It is inconceivable that such a man of affairs should linger year after year in the dreary little colony of Greenland. If, however, his mission meant the rescue of the lost colonists who had emigrated to unknown parts of America a few years before we

[20] An ancient Danish translation of this document is printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker,* III, 120-22. Cf. also Storm's *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne,* p. 365; Munch's *Det Norske Folks Historie, Unionsperioden,* I, 312.

[21] The spiritual welfare of Greenland seems to have been a matter of deep concern to this pious monarch, Magnus Erikson. When he drew up his will in 1347 he left a large amount of money to the cathedral in Greenland.

[22] See Storm, 365. Storm does not cite any authority for this conclusion. I find reason, however, to believe he is correctly informed by a statement which occurs in a fragmentary annal (Arne Magnussen 423-24) covering the years 1328-72. From this we learn that Bishop Alf was ordained bishop of Greenland in 1365. As it was customary to ordain a new bishop immediately or within a year after the news of his predecessor's death, and as his predecessor, Arnald, had died in 1349, this means that no vessel had returned from Greenland in the intervening years until shortly before 1365.

[23] See *Diplomarium Norwegieum,* 1347 and 1348.

see quite sufficient reasons for his continued absence. As a good Catholic he must have been horrified that so many of his king's subjects should have given up the faith and reverted to idolatry. He would feel it his duty to save them from eternal damnation by bringing them back into the Church. Moreover, as special representative of the king he would feel called upon to examine the material conditions of this new land (America) recently brought to the attention of the king and to which his subjects had emigrated, and see if it was worth annexing to the crown.

Here we have the striking coincidence of the presence of a Norse expedition in American waters in the very year recorded in the inscription. Documentary evidence here ends but we can easily conceive the missing link. It is reasonable to suppose that after searching about in the adjacent parts of Greenland and America for clues of the missing colonists, Paul Knutson and his party eventually reached the Vinland of traditional fame. Here a fortified base of operations is presumably established. Supposing this new land to be an island (which was the view held by all the old Norsemen) and reasoning that the colonists would be found somewhere on its shore, they send out an expedition to follow the shore and if necessary to circumnavigate the land. In the course of time they reach the interior of Hudson Bay. Here they find that the land again turns northward into the arctic wastes.[24]

What now would be the reasonable thing to be done? To continue northward without ample provisions and equipment would be to yield themselves to the fate of the arctic winter.

[24] As is now well known, Vilhjalmur Stefansson in 1909 discovered a blonde tribe of huge Eskimos a short distance west of Hudson Bay, which may very likely be the descendants of the lost Greenland colonists. Among his collections is a photograph taken by his companion, Dr. Anderson of the University of Iowa. It shows Mr. Stefansson standing in the midst of a group of sixteen of these blonde Eskimos, every one of them having the facial appearance of a typical Norwegian farmer. Although Mr. Stefansson lacks but an inch of six feet in height he scarcely reaches to their shoulders. His account of his meeting with these strange people, printed in *My Life in the Arctic,* reads like an old-time epic. General Greely in the *National Geographic Magazine* points out that earlier arctic explorers have met this strange tribe of blonde Eskimos farther east.

Perhaps they were also under orders to report to headquarters in Vinland within a certain time. It is also likely that Hudson Bay was beginning to freeze over; its open season is only three months.

They could not go north, but to the south opened a broad and navigable highway—the Nelson River. They therefore decide to split the expedition, a small party to remain with the vessels over winter while the larger number go up the Nelson River and then back over land to Vinland. This would also give them the opportunity of exploring the interior of this new land. They, of course, had no conception of the vast continent which separated them from their headquarters. Their impression was that America was a large island, very long north and south but not so big east and west. As they had traveled a vast distance from Vinland toward the north and now in Hudson Bay had returned several hundred miles toward the south, they probably reasoned that by some further travel southward they would reach a point not very far from Vinland to the west. The probability of this theory is supported by the fact that when some time later ten of their number are killed by Indians they do not turn back but continue southeastward, which would be the direction of safety for them,—that is, their headquarters in Vinland, supposedly not far away.

Our knowledge of the Paul Knutson expedition throws new light on the inscription. It reads that this journey of exploration "through the western regions" came from Vinland—not from Norway or Greenland. This indicates that a lengthy stay had been made in the land just as was made by Knutson. It also mentions that they had more than one vessel; therefore it was a well-equipped expedition like Knutson's. The Latin letters *A V M,* which are a part of the prayer that follows, suggest that a priest accompanied the party; this was no doubt the case in Knutson's expedition which according to the king's letter was a crusade for the

preservation of Christianity. Finally it would have been practically impossible for the survivors of the Kensington party to return to Norway until 1364 which is the very year when the survivors of Knutson's party returned home. The date of their return was not brought out, however, until 1889 when Storm's book, *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne,* appeared and incidentally mentions it. The opinion of geologists and the circumstances surrounding the finding of the stone unite, however, in the conclusion that the inscription must have been written long before that time as will be shown below.

The facts concerning the apostasy of the Greenland colonists and their subsequent emigration to America; the journey to Bergen, the king's residence; the Greenland voyagers who had been to America (Markland); the subsequent rescue expedition of Paul Knutson; and other facts mentioned above are very little known even among well-informed historians. They have been gleaned from various rare sources difficult of access and have been correlated and published here for the first time. It is therefore extremely unlikely that any runic charlatan perpetrating a hoax should have used this material as a basis for his purposeless account. If he by chance had known of the king's letter commissioning Knutson to start out on his expedition in 1355 he would have chosen a date for the inscription in more obvious agreement with it—say 1356 or 1357. For as stated above, the time of Knutson's return was not known until 1889—a number of years after the inscription by any theory could have been written. We have therefore here additional evidence in support of the truth of the inscription.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE INSCRIPTION

I. The position of the stone *in situ.* The stone was found on a timbered elevation only a few feet from the edge of a marsh which surrounds it. About five hundred feet away across the open marsh and facing directly toward it stands

the house of Nils Flaten, a pioneer settler who has lived there continuously since 1884. The stone lay immediately below the surface of the ground, clutched in the grasp of the two largest roots of a poplar tree. One of the roots had followed the horizontal surface of the stone and then made an abrupt turn downward. The other root descended straight downward along the other side of the stone. *Both roots were flat on the side touching the stone.* At the two points where they passed over the edges of the stone they were wide and flat and sharply marked on the inside. It has been claimed that the runic forger might have dug a hole under a tree and then pushed the stone under the roots. Such a thing is possible but not in this case. It would be impossible to twist the tenacious roots of a tree about and hold them in place to make them conform to the shape of the stone so closely unless it grew up from a very small sapling after the stone was deposited there. Moreover, the flat surface of the roots prove that the tree must have grown up since the stone was placed.

These facts have been substantiated by numerous affidavits from people who saw the stump shortly after it was dug up; also that the tree was from eight to ten inches in diameter. A poplar tree grows rapidly in the open. But this tree grew in a block of dense timber, overshadowed by larger trees. Mr. Ohman also states that it was a sickly tree of stunted growth. In order to learn something of its probable age Mr. Ohman was requested to cut down two other poplars of the same size and physical appearance. He was also asked, for purpose of comparison, to cut down two other poplars of the same size but of thrifty appearance and vigorous growth. He carefully selected these four trees, cut them down, and sent in a cross section of each. The first two were found to have respectively sixty-eight and seventy-five annual rings of growth; the other two had forty and forty-five rings.[25]

[25] Plate IV, volume XV, of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* shows cross sections of the healthy trees having forty and forty-five rings respectively. It was impossible to make a clear photographic copy of the stunted trees of same size, as the rings were too close and indistinct.

If, to be conservative, we assume that the tree was forty years old this brings us back to 1858 as the latest date when the stone could have been placed there. But this was many years before a single white settler had found his way to that section of the state. The first white settler in the county came there in 1865 and lived alone as a hermit in the wilderness for several years. Immigration followed the projected survey of the Great Northern Railway, which passed through Alexandria about twenty-five miles east of the finding place in 1878. At Alexandria Senator Knute Nelson was one of the first settlers. He took a homestead, now included within the city limits, in 1870.

In 1858 the nearest railroad point to the finding place of the stone was La Crosse. Not until 1862 was there any construction in Minnesota. In 1866 the first railroad west of St. Paul was built as far as St. Cloud, one hundred twenty miles from Kensington. No railroad reached Douglas County until 1878 when Alexandria, twenty-five miles from Kensington, was reached. If the Kensington inscription is a forgery we must suppose that a man of eminent runic, linguistic, and historical erudition set forth a hundred miles and more into an unsettled wilderness and there, exposed to attacks by savage animals and treacherous Indians, carved out a lengthy inscription which would bring him neither honor nor riches. This being done, he buries it upon a rough, timber-covered knoll surrounded by marshes—a place which an early visitor would never expect to see cultivated! Such a supposition is too remote to be credible.

II. The weathered appearance of the stone. The composition of the stone is described as follows by Professor N. H. Winchell: "The composition of the stone makes it one of the most durable in nature, equaling granite and almost equaling the dense quartzite of the pipestone quarry in the southwestern part of Minnesota. On the surface of this quartzite, even where exposed to the weather since they were formed, the fine

glacial scratches and polishing are well preserved, and when covered by drift clay they seem not to have been changed at all."[26]

In 1910 when the controversy concerning the stone was at its height and a number of prominent scholars had pronounced it fraudulent because of the alleged presence of English words, etc., the stone was submitted to the examination of seven professional geologists. None of these experts were able to discover any evidence that the stone had been recently engraved. They were advised of the fact that prominent philologists considered the stone a modern forgery but notwithstanding this warning three of them did not hesitate positively to affirm that the inscription showed great age. Professor W. O. Hotchkiss, state geologist of Wisconsin, wrote the following statement: "After having carefully examined the so-called Kensington runic stone I have no hesitation in affirming that its inscription must have been carved very long ago—at least fifty to a hundred years."[27]

Dr. Warren Upham, a specialist in glacial geology, gave the following opinion: "When we compare the excellent preservation of the glacial scratches shown on the back of the stone, which were made several thousand years ago, with the mellow, time-worn appearance of the face of the inscription, the conclusion is inevitable that this inscription must have been carved many hundred years ago."

Professor N. H. Winchell wrote as follows: "The general 'mellow' color of the face of the graywacke (rune stone) and of the whole surface of the stone is also to be noted. This is the first apparent effect of weathering. Graywacke may be estimated to be fifty to a hundred times more durable in the weather than calcite, some graywackes being more resistant than others. * * *

[26] *Minnesota Historical Collections*, XV, 237.

[27] Statement filed with Minnesota Historical Society.

"There are six stages of the weathering of graywacke which are exhibited by the stone, and they may be arranged approximately in a scale as follows:

1. A fresh break or cut..... 0
2. Break or cut shown by the runes of the face..... 5
3. Edge-face, which has not been engraved, but was apparently dressed by a rough bush-hammering. 5
4. The inscribed face of the stone..... 10
5. The finely glaciated and polished back side and the non-hammered portion of the edge..... 80
6. The coarse gouging and the general beveling and deepest weathering of the back side.....250 or 500

"These figures are but rough estimates and are intended to express the grand epochs of time through which the stone has passed since it started from the solid rock of which it formed a part prior to the Glacial period; and to a certain degree they are subject to the personal equation of the person who gives them. * * * If the figures in the foregoing series be all multiplied by 100, they would stand:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
000:	500:	500:	1,000:	8,000:	25,000 or 50,000

"Since 8,000 years is approximately the date of the end of the latest glaciation (5), the numbers may all be accepted as the approximate number of years required for the various stages of weathering. Hence stages (2) and (3) may have required each about 500 years."[28]

III. The fourteen days' journey. The actual distance from Kensington to Hudson Bay at the mouth of Nelson River is about eight hundred fifty miles. To this must be added about two hundred miles for the windings of the river. This makes a total of ten hundred fifty miles which would make an average journey of seventy-five miles per day. To make seventy-five miles per day against a rapid current or on foot is manifestly impossible. This has, therefore, been used as an argument against the authenticity of

[28] *Ibid.*, 236-37.

the inscription. Such objectors overlook, however, that the physical impossibility of such a rate of travel would be just as obvious to the rune master as to the critics. If he were a forger he must have been a very learned and intelligent man and such a man would not have made such an obvious blunder. He would in all probability have computed the distance carefully and then divided it into easy journeys of twenty miles or less per day.

The rune master did not make a blunder, however, in stating that it was fourteen days' journey to the sea (Hudson Bay). The difficulty is that the meaning of the term "days' journey" has escaped us. The Norsemen of the Middle Ages did not have any measure such as we now use for estimating distances. The Norse word *mil,* like the English "mile," is derived from the Latin *mille,* a thousand, i.e., *milia passuum,* a thousand paces; we have no Norse nor Teutonic word for this. The Slavs have their *verst* and the Germans their *Stunde,* i.e., the distance covered in one hour's walking. This *Stunde* is a recognized unit of distance whether covered by the leisurely gait of a man or the swift pace of a trotting horse.

Similarly the Norsemen, whose travel was mostly done on the sea, had a recognized unit of distance. This was "a day's sail" or "a day's journey." Passing along shore from headland to headland these sailors early became experts in estimating distances, and the distance covered in a day's sail with a fair wind became a recognized unit of distance used irrespective of how many days it actually took to make the journey. This unit of distance for a twelve-hour day, or *dægr,* was from seventy-five to eighty-five miles per day. Thus we are always informed that the distance from Bergen to Iceland is "seven days' sail" although on that stormy sea it nearly always took several weeks to make the journey. Likewise we are told repeatedly that the distance from Iceland to

Greenland is "four days' sail" although this journey usuall took several weeks owing to storms and adverse ice cond tions. When, therefore, the rune master says it is fourtee days' journey to the sea he speaks in terms in which he wa wont to think. He means to tell us that he estimates the di tance at fourteen times eighty miles (a day's journey) eleven hundred twenty miles. This agrees very well wit actual facts. However, this method of reckoning distance not suggestive of modern authorship.

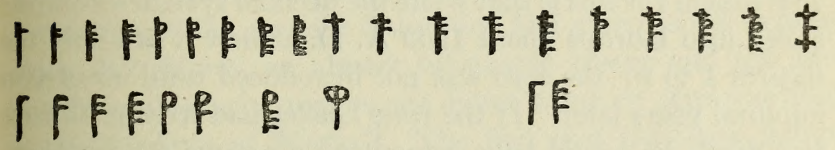
IV. The numerals. For many years after the rune ston was found the most mystifying feature about it was th numerals. It was long before they were correctly inte preted. When this was done they were pointed to as stron proof of the modern fabrication of the inscription, seeing tha the rune master "was unable to write dates and numbers ex cept in a system of his own invention." It was not until 190 —eleven years after the stone was found—that Helge Gje sing, a philologist of Christiania, was able to show that thes numerals were not an invention of the runic scribe but wer in perfect accord with runic numerals used in the Midd Ages.[29] This is another testimony of the unusual scholarshi that would be required in a modern forger to write this ex traordinary inscription.

Gjessing points out that a Danish writer by the name o Ole Worm in 1643 published a work in Latin, entitled *Fas Danici,* in which these runic numerals occur. This work ha never been translated nor reprinted. The rune master, if h were a forger, must therefore have had access to very ra books and was able to read Latin. As to these numerals, O Worm in this part of his work discusses the ancient *primstav* or household calendars, which were in use in the Scandinavia countries in the Middle Ages. These calendars consisted o flat sticks of wood about thirty inches long and two inche wide. Upon them was carved a multitude of signs to repre

[29] See his article in *Symra,* Decorah, Iowa, for 1909, No. 3, 116-19.

sent the many holy days of the Church, separated by a series of dots indicating the number of intervening days. Besides this, some of these *primstave* also contained nineteen numerals—one for each of the moon cycle's nineteen years—by help of which one could figure out the different dates upon which the new moons of that year would appear. However, when we compare the numerals on the rune stone with the corresponding numerals in Worm's book we find a difference. The accompanying illustration shows that they are the same in type but differ in detail in every figure:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19



This difference in form shows that while the rune master is familiar with the system of numerals preserved for us by Worm he has followed another model; which indicates that he wrote at a time when these *primstave* were in daily use and plentiful, i.e., in the fourteenth century.

There is another significant thing about these numbers and that is the rune master's way of writing the numbers 10 and 14. The old Scandinavians used "twenty" as a base in their system of notation. Larger numbers were expressed as so and so many "twenties." This system still survives etymologically in such archaic terms as *et halvt tjau,* i.e., "half a twenty" = 10; *tres,* "three (twenties)" = 60; *halv-fjers,* "half of the fourth (twenty)" = 70, etc. We therefore find, not nine, but twenty units in their system of notation. Nineteen of these units are shown in the illustration of the numbers used on the *primstave.*

The rune master does not use this system. In writing number 14 he uses two digits, or, in other words, the compara-

tively modern decimal system which has 10 for its base. He also uses this in writing 22 and 1362. Gjessing has shown that the decimal system was introduced in the North prior to 1362.[30] One might object that the rune master probably knew nothing about the rather obscure history of notation and wrote as he was wont, thinking that our common decimal system had always been in use. This view is, however, excluded when we see how he writes the number 10. An ordinary person not knowing the history of the decimal system would invariably write 10 with two digits. This has become such a fixed rule with us that it is difficult to imagine it was ever otherwise. The rune master however uses only one digit. The reason for this is that while the decimal system was introduced into Europe about 1200 A. D. at first it had only the figures 1 to 9; the zero was not introduced until about two hundred years later. If the rune master had written 10 with two digits he would have committed a serious anachronism; but in this as in other things he has shown himself to be in strict conformity to the usage and limitations of his time.

These numerals, therefore, so long a puzzle to the critics, prove to contain two cogent arguments corroborating the authenticity of the inscription.

V. *A V M:* Save from evil. In the intimate conformity of this prayer with fourteenth century usage we have another evidence of the genuineness of the inscription. This was, like many other parts of the inscription, objected to, the assertion being made that the rune master by the use of the salutation, "Hail, Mary!" *(Ave Maria)* in the beginning of a prayer for deliverance from bodily peril showed himself to be a modern Lutheran or non-Catholic, not conversant with the proper use of Catholic prayers. The *Angelica Salutatio* of which the above *Ave Maria* (Hail, Mary) is the familiar beginning, is not, as is well known at least to all Catholics,

[30] *Ibid.*, 117.

a prayer for deliverance from bodily peril but a greeting of adoration, a divine salutation. A modern Scandinavian forger of non-Catholic faith who would have picked up his knowledge of Catholic usage through literary channels would therefore not have chosen this phrase, *Ave Maria,* in this connection. Particularly would this be true if he understood Latin (as is shown by the preceding paragraph he must have done). He would then at once have been conscious that the salutation, "Hail, Mary," would not seem proper as the beginning of a prayer for deliverance from evil. The presumption that this is the work of a modern forger therefore seems excluded.

In the fourteenth century, however, conditions were different. In those comparatively illiterate days the frequent intonation of the Angelic Salutation had given to the expression, *Ave Maria,* an almost talismanic power and the two words were largely used as one divine name, or *Ave* was used as an attribute of *Maria.*[31] The fact that the three letters *A V M* are written without any separating marks, whereas all other words in the inscription are separated by double points, indicates that the rune master considered them as one name. To him it was the most sacred name he knew and he wished to express reverence in writing it. He therefore used Latin letters—the language of the Church—in writing them. Archbishop Ireland was deeply impressed by the peculiar wording of this prayer and stated that it was strong evidence to him that it was written in the Middle Ages.[32]

As to the prayer, *frœelse af illy,* which has been condemned as an Anglicism, we find it literally in an ancient folklore poem harking back to the Black Plague (A. D. 1349) but which came to light several years after the stone was found. I give the first stanza below, and will call special

[31] Liljegren states that *Ave Maria* occurs frequently on inscriptions of the Middle Ages as introductory to all kinds of prayers. See his Runlære, 166-69.

[32] St. Paul *Dispatch,* Dec. 14, 1909.

attention to the last two lines, which, with a slight variation, serve as a refrain throughout the ballad:

Svartedauen for laand aa straand,
Aa sopa so mangei tilje;
De vi eg no fer sanno tru,
De var kje me Herrens vilje.
Hjælpe oss Gud aa Maria Møy,
Frelse oss alle av illi!

The Black Plague sped (over) land and sea
And swept so many a board (floor).
That will I now most surely believe,
It was not with the Lord's will.
Help us God and Virgin Mary,
Save us all from evil! [33]

Here, as will be noted, we have not only our "illy" phonetically reproduced but we have literally the same prayer as on the stone plus the redundant *oss alle.* The ballad also, like the prayer in the inscription, uses the ancient preposition *af,* which has long since been superseded by *fra.* Altogether, this prayer shows most striking conformity to fourteenth century usage here substantiated in its entirety in this old ballad which was not published until many years after the rune stone was found.

There are several other aspects of the inscription which speak strongly for its genuineness, particularly the runic characters. A discussion of these, however, would be too technical and voluminous to be attempted in a popular presentation like this. While the arguments cited above may not separately be considered as conclusive, their aggregate weight is such as to leave little doubt that we have in this inscription a most important record dating from the fourteenth century. On the other hand, not a single argument has yet been pre-

[33] This folksong was communicated by Mr. Olav Tortvei, Moorhead, Minn., to Mr. Torkel Oftelie, a folklorist of Fergus Falls, Minn., by whom it was printed in *Telesoga,* No. 1, 1909. Mr. Tortvei was an octogenarian pioneer, now dead, who, though illiterate, remembered hundreds of old ballads which he had heard in his childhood. Mr. Oftelie sent this ballad—*Førnesbronen*—to the eminent folklorist Rikard Berge of Telemarken, Norway, who said he had not met with it in his researches.

sented against the inscription which has been found to be valid. It seems obvious that it would be impossible for a present-day forger to construct an inscription of such length and multiplicity of ideas without leaving indubitable proof of his forgery. Particularly would this be true of an inscription purporting to date from the fourteenth century which is a peculiarly difficult period linguistically, runologically, and historically. The multitude of errors which critics have made in reviewing the inscription shows the difficulties any one of these men would have encountered if he had attempted to invent such an inscription. Yet this inscription, coming from an uninhabited wilderness, has survived all attacks made upon it for more than twenty years.

In view of this and in view of the great significance of its message, it is surely time for our learned societies and institutions to cease their "waiting and watching" attitude and take energetic action in thoroughly investigating the subject.[34]

[34] After this article had been sent to the press word was received from Mr. Holand that he had located the two skerries mentioned in the inscription and had made certain other discoveries in connection therewith. A brief account of these discoveries will be given in an early issue of this magazine.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. Titus

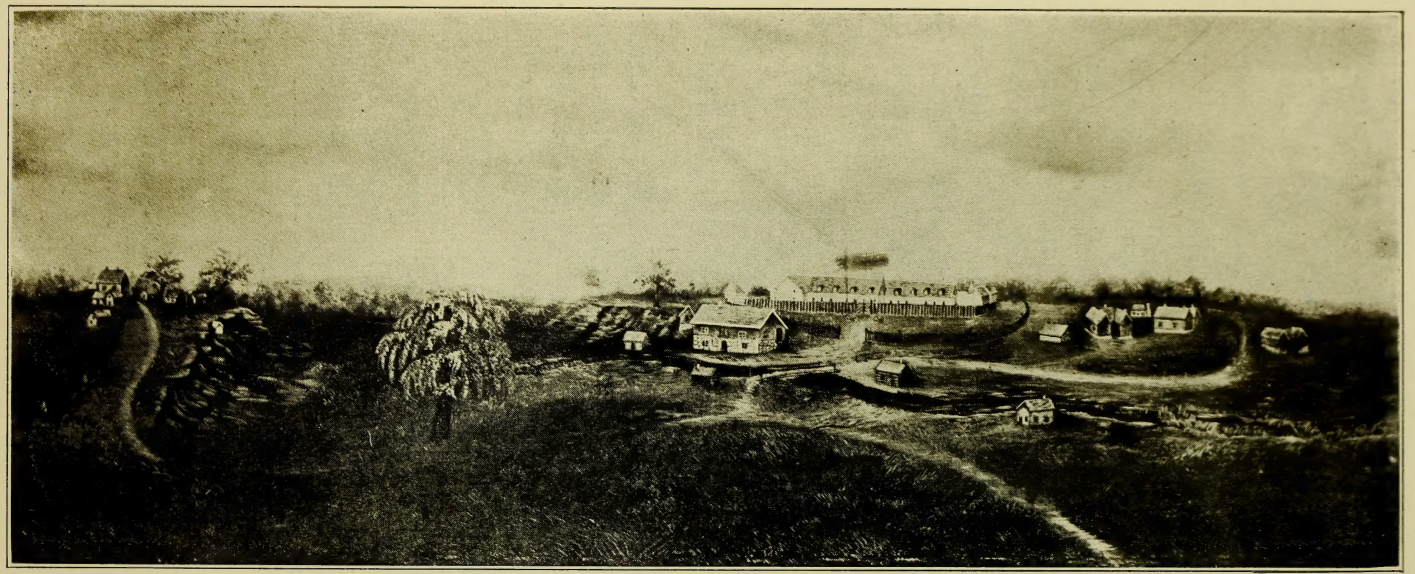
I: PORTAGE, THE BREAK IN A HISTORIC WATERWAY

Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod.—Hemans.

Of all the points of historic interest in Wisconsin none stands out in bolder relief than the scant two miles of low plain that separates the Fox from the Wisconsin River at the great westward bend of the latter. From the days of the earliest traders and explorers this narrow isthmus has been known in journal and *Jesuit Relation* as "the portage," and almost every maker of early history in what is now Wisconsin trod this break between river and river. At certain seasons when the Wisconsin River was at high-water mark this low divide was inundated, and boats could float over it without halt or hindrance. A notable instance occurred in 1828 when the Fifth Regiment of United States Infantry passed over the portage in boats, thus making the entire trip by water from St. Louis to Green Bay.

At a very early date Wisconsin was visited by fur traders, many of whom were free lances; that is, they operated without license from the French government and therefore made no record of their journeyings. Thus we have no way of knowing where they went and what they observed, but it is fair to infer that in almost every case these illicit rovers preceded the explorers and missionaries, who kept and have transmitted to us more or less complete records of their discoveries.

For the early explorers the canoe was the only practical method of transportation; therefore the voyagers were keen to follow the waterways into the interior. Every white man who reached the Winnebago region was told by the Indians



VIEW OF FORT WINNEBAGO

about the route that led to the "great water" through the stream now known as the Upper Fox, but without the help of the native guides it would have been difficult if not impossible for the French explorers to thread their way through the shallow channels hidden by wild rice or through the intervening sedgy lakes where the passages midst rush and reed formed a labyrinth.

So far as known the first white men to visit the portage were Louis Jolliet, an agent of the French government, and Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, who with several companions crossed the neck of land in the summer of 1673 on their voyage that led to the discovery of the upper Mississippi. Marquette has left a record of this long journey wherein he indicates his surprise that a strip of land so narrow and so low could separate two rivers, one of which flows into the Gulf of Mexico and the other into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Visitors whose names are written into the history of the Northwest now came at frequent intervals. Louis Hennepin crossed the portage in 1680; and we read that in 1683 Le Sueur passed from the Fox to the Wisconsin at this point. During the next three-quarters of a century the Fox-Wisconsin route was closed to civilization because of the merciless war that was waged by the French against the Fox Indians. The latter were defeated time after time with terrible slaughter, and neither age nor sex was spared; but the French could not wholly exterminate the tribe. This struggle was a sad blot on the period of French occupation; the Foxes never forgot nor forgave the treatment they received from the whites.

Jonathan Carver, the first English explorer, was at the portage in 1766 and wrote a very interesting account of the country along the courses of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. His description of the portage is especially instructive.

In 1793 Laurent Barth built a rude home near the portage, possibly the first building erected in the vicinity by a white man. Barth engaged in the business of transporting small boats and their cargoes between the two rivers. He enjoyed a monopoly of the transfer business at this point until 1798, when John Lecuyer came with an improved outfit and entered into competition with Barth. With a heavy wagon greatly lengthened by the use of a long reach Lecuyer was enabled to haul boats of considerable size from one river to the other. Lecuyer died in 1810 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis Le Roy. It is recorded that in 1817 Le Roy charged fifty cents per hundredweight for taking goods across the portage and that he received ten dollars each for hauling boats overland from river to river. Augustin Grignon mentions in his "Recollections" that he was at the portage during the winter of 1802; other well-known traders were there at various times during the first years of the nineteenth century.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the future Wisconsin was included in the territory that was ceded to the United States by Great Britain. In 1814 a British-Indian army, following in the path of one which thirty-four years earlier had crossed Wisconsin and descended the Mississippi to attack the Spaniards at St. Louis, wended its way through Lake Winnebago, up the Fox River, across the portage, and down the Wisconsin to its mouth. This was Colonel McKay's command of British soldiers and Indian allies before whom Prairie du Chien fell a few days later. After the close of the war with England the British and Indians withdrew by the same route to Green Bay, from which point they returned to Canada.

In 1819 the Fifth Regiment, United States Infantry, crossed the portage; the Third Regiment, United States Infantry, passed over this much traversed route in 1826.

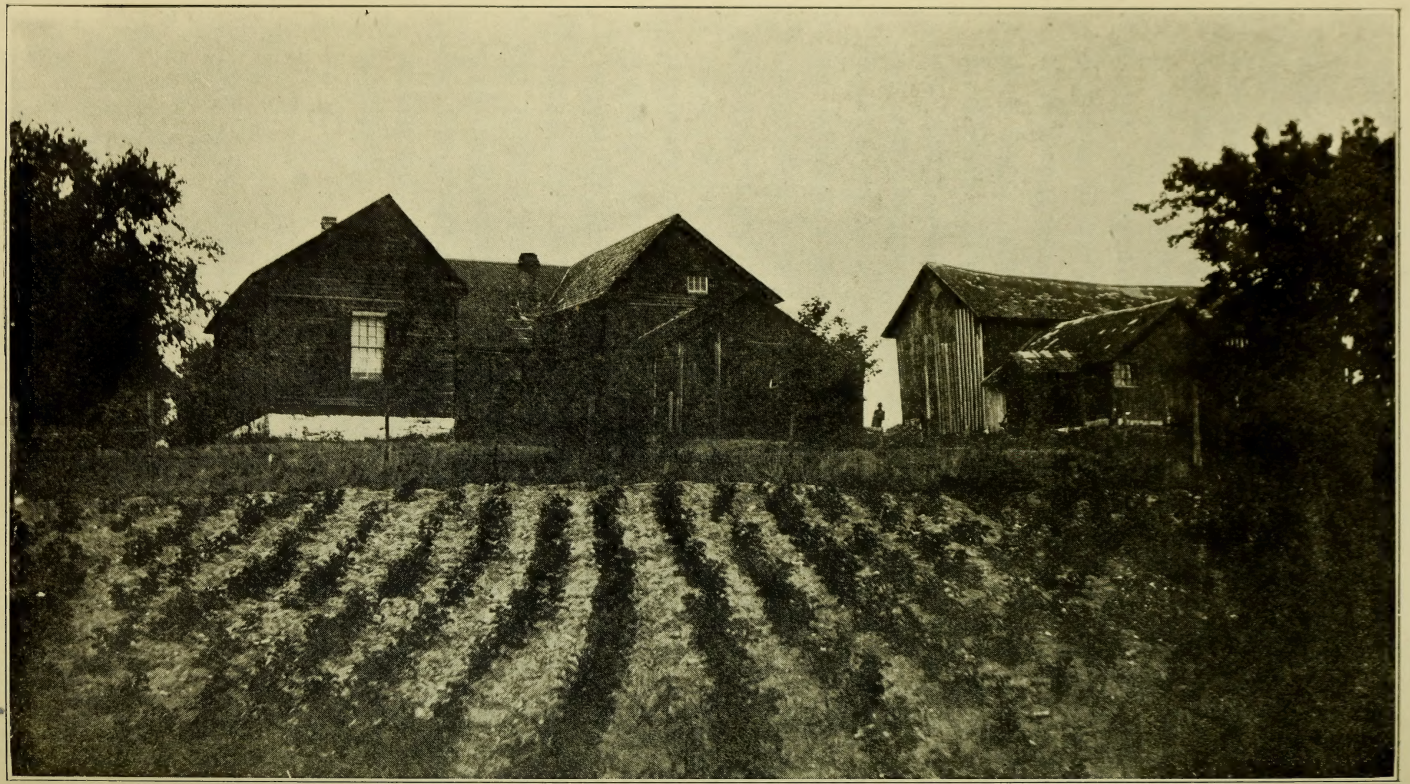
In 1827 the ill feeling and unrest among the Winnebago Indians came to acts of open hostility on the part of some of the tribesmen, and a number of white settlers were killed. Government troops were ordered to proceed to the portage, and there occurred the dramatic episode that ended the trouble. The Indians, to save themselves from defeat and possible annihilation, surrendered Chiefs Red Bird and Wekaw as the murderers of the settlers. The pair with another warrior was taken to Prairie du Chien, tried, and sentenced to death. Red Bird died in prison; the other two were subsequently pardoned.

In the autumn of 1828 the First Regiment, United States Infantry, was ordered to proceed to the portage and build a fort on the east side of the Fox River. Major Twiggs, who later became General Twiggs of the Confederate States, was in command; among his subordinates were men who were destined to become famous in the military annals of the country. Captain Buell, Captain Harney, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis were among those who witnessed the building of Fort Winnebago as the new post was called. The buildings were constructed of materials found in the neighborhood—stone from a near-by quarry, brick burned on the west bank of the Wisconsin River, and lumber sawed by hand from logs that were floated down the river. Jefferson Davis is said to have had considerable to do with the actual construction work. He was a young graduate of West Point and came to Fort Winnebago from Fort Crawford where he had begun, a year or so earlier, his active military career.

Fort Winnebago was built in the form of a square enclosed by pickets or palisades. The fortifications consisted of two strong blockhouses at diagonally opposite corners of the square. The auxiliary buildings, consisting of hospital, warehouses, commissary building, shops, and stables, were near by but outside the enclosure. The entire group of buildings is said to have been quite pretentious in appearance and

well constructed. During the Black Hawk War Fort Winnebago was not in good condition to offer resistance to an attack, as a portion of the garrison had been ordered to move southward to join the army in the field. The supplies were stored outside the stockade; the living quarters were quite unprotected. It had not been thought possible that Black Hawk and his band would push so far north as the Hustisford Rapids, so when the proximity of the savages became known there was great excitement at the post, which did not subside until it was learned that the Sauk were in full retreat toward the Four Lakes region.

Fort Winnebago was garrisoned continuously until 1845, when it was evacuated and never again occupied by a military force. In 1856 a fire destroyed much of the fort and adjacent buildings. Today a peaceful farmhouse occupies the site of this former guardian of the old frontier.



CAVALRY STABLES AT FORT WINNEBAGO

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER IV—TERRITORIAL FOUNDATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

PRETERRITORIAL ROUTES

The first routes to Wisconsin were waterways. Bounded by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, the natural means of approach was by watercraft. Sailing vessels from the eastern ports landed goods and passengers at Green Bay; keel boats up and down the Mississippi connected Prairie du Chien with St. Louis and New Orleans: canoes and Mackinaw boats plied the inland rivers. The invention of the steamboat accelerated traffic. The first lakes' steamer reached Green Bay in 1821; the first upper river steamboat ascended the Mississippi in 1823. The first Wisconsin settlers in the lead mining region came by way of the Mississippi to Galena, thence overland on foot or on horseback. Later, steamboats made landings at the Grant County ports of Cassville and Sinipee. By the time of the Black Hawk War the mining centers were connected by a number of rude roads. Beyond this region there was, until the erection of the territory, but one road in Wisconsin, the military highway opened by detachments of troops between 1833 and 1836. This road connected Fort Howard at Green Bay with Fort Winnebago at the portage by a route along the south bank of the Fox River, the east shore of Lake Winnebago; thence across country direct to Portage. From there the second division of the road ran southwest to Blue Mounds; thence along the Wisconsin watershed to which it gave the name of Military Ridge. It crossed the Wisconsin about six miles above its mouth and from the ferry ran to Fort Crawford at Prairie

du Chien. All the cross-country traffic except that on the Fox-Wisconsin waterway went by this road. By 1836 several taverns had been opened along its western portion.

Coming from the south was a long-used Indian trail from Chicago to Green Bay. It crossed from Grosse Point (now Winnetka) to Skunk Grove, just west of the present Racine; thence ran to Juneau's post on Milwaukee River; thence north, following the general line of the lake shore, touching it at Port Washington and Two Rivers.[17] Gradually as white travelers took this trail they cut its curves and broadened its pathway until it took on the semblance of a road.

EASTERN IMMIGRANTS

Notwithstanding the advertisement of Wisconsin lands during and succeeding the Black Hawk War of 1832, it was not until 1835 that immigrants in any numbers began to arrive at Wisconsin ports. This delay was due to several reasons. In the first place the Indian title was not extinguished until the autumn of 1833. After the Black Hawk War the Sauk and Foxes and the Winnebago were compelled that same autumn to cede all their lands south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway; the Menominee claims along the lower Fox and south to the Milwaukee River were purchased in October, 1832. The allied tribes of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi met in September, 1833 at a great treaty at Chicago and there sold all their lands west and south of Lake Michigan. This put at rest forever the Indian rights to all of southern Wisconsin. Following this, the United States in 1834 opened two land offices for the new cessions: one at Mineral Point, which began to enter land in November, the other at Green Bay, where entries were not possible until the spring of 1835.

The other states of the Old Northwest had yet much good land to offer to intending immigrants. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were at this period in the midst of a rush into their

[17] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 454.

vacant territory. For instance Oberlin, Ohio, founded in 1833, was then surrounded by a country still a wilderness. The years from 1830 to 1837 were those in which the northern and central portions of Indiana were compacted. The northern tier of counties in Illinois was not settled until after the Black Hawk War; and this region was the first to feel the impetus of immigration as the result of that event.

Michigan was, however, Wisconsin's chief rival for the eastern emigrants. In 1824 there were but ten villages in all the region that afterwards became the state of Michigan. The next year the Erie Canal was completed, and, next to Cleveland, Detroit became the chief distributing point for new settlers pouring in from New England and New York. The same year the government finished a military road from Detroit to Chicago, and along this route the great bulk of westward travel passed.[18]

The spring of 1835 opened with a rush into the region that would soon become a new territory. Every steamboat arriving at Green Bay brought from the East speculators eager to secure possession of Wisconsin's fertile lands, mill sites, water powers, and future commercial centers. Bona fide settlers also came pouring in and soon outnumbered and outmaneuvered the land sharks; and the hitherto unbroken wilderness became dotted with rude cabin homes. The settlers of 1835 sought locations near the lake shore, those that promised future harbors and prosperous cities. Chief among these was Milwaukee, which had been for many years an important Indian trading post. Unlike Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, Milwaukee had no permanent French-Canadian population. In 1833 the huts of three traders were its only habitations. Chief among these traders was Solomon Juneau, who had settled at this point in 1818. He united with

[18] Mathews, Lois K., *The Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), 224-25.

Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay in 1834 to preëmpt the land east of Milwaukee River and lay out a town site.

In 1834 Col. George H. Walker from Virginia took up the south point of Milwaukee harbor, ever since known as Walker's Point. No other permanent settlers came until 1835. Then Byron Kilbourn platted a town site west of Milwaukee River, which was long a rival to Juneau's town. The first steamboat landed at Milwaukee in June of this year; and many of the substantial citizens who built up the metropolis made their advent in 1835. The county organization sufficed until 1835 when the villages of Milwaukee east of the river and Kilbourntown were organized with Juneau and Kilbourn, respectively, as presidents. These two organizations were united in 1838.[19]

Racine, also, was founded in 1835 by Gilbert Knapp, who was quickly followed by other preëmptors. On the site of Kenosha agents for a New York Emigration company found claimants as early as March of the same year. The agents of this company thereupon began their settlement a mile farther north at the mouth of Pike River. By the autumn of 1835 several buildings had been erected at both places, and religious services held.[20]

North of Milwaukee a paper city was laid out by speculators at what is now Port Washington, then called Wisconsin City. This was expected to become the future metropolis of the territory. Sheboygan was platted by eastern investors during the last months of 1835; its first permanent settlers, however, did not arrive until the spring of 1836. The same was true of Manitowoc.

While the lake ports were thus being occupied during 1835 farms in the hinterland were also being opened. Waukesha, then called Prairieville, had settlers on its site as

[19] Mack, Edwin S., "The Founding of Milwaukee," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings,* 1906, 194-207.

[20] *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* II, 450-56; III, 370-420.

early as 1834. All but three of the present townships of Racine County were opened up with farms during 1835. The same season saw settlers in Kenosha, Salem, Somers, Pleasant Prairie, Brighton, Paris, Bristol, and Wheatland townships of the present Kenosha County. The southern townships of Milwaukee County were first settled in 1835; and what became the villages of Pewaukee, Mukwonago, and Muskego received their first settlers the same summer. Two or three groups of homeseekers in the late autumn of 1835 crossed the country to the waters of Rock River; but only the beginning of a preëmptor's log cabin near Janesville gave any sign of permanent settlement on that stream before 1836.

That year saw the great influx into the new territory whose separation from Michigan was then an assured fact. Every steamboat coming around the lakes landed hundreds of prospectors at the ports. The stream of wagons passing overland from Detroit was almost continuous. Tavern accommodations were wholly inadequate; families camped on the wayside and slept in wagons, cooking their own provisions at numerous camp fires along the route. Arrived at the promised land the question of location became all important. Mechanics, builders, and small capitalists settled at the embryo towns. Intending farmers sought half- and quarter-sections along some stream or in the timber; prairie land was liked by eastern immigrants because it was less difficult to clear than the heavily timbered sections.

In 1836 the counties of Walworth, Jefferson, Rock, Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc were opened up; village sites were platted and town lots put upon the market. Speculation spread beyond the borders of the territory; town lots in Wisconsin were sold at boom prices throughout the East. Eastern capitalists came out with funds to make large purchases from the land offices. The bona fide settlers, who had come with small means to make permanent homes, took alarm. A species of claimants' organization, begun at Pike

River in February, 1836 to arbitrate on rival claims, commended itself to the preëmptors. The same summer the Milwaukee County Union was formed;[21] other counties quickly caught the idea of protective associations. By this means the actual settlers obtained their land at the government price of $1.25 an acre. Any speculator bidding against a settler was roughly handled. Nor could he secure redress by law, for no settlers' jury would decide in his favor. Wisconsin thus became populated by a small proprietor class, coming chiefly from New England and New York. These immigrants were largely descendants of seventeenth century Americans; they brought to Wisconsin the ideals and the purposes that had made successful the great commonwealths of the East. In their new western homes they built up American institutions and American homes that have formed the basis of the progress and prosperity of Wisconsin.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY

In 1835 Michigan was ripe for statehood, and her admission to the Union seemed but a question of a few months. A call for a constitutional convention was issued; delegates met at Detroit in May of that year and provided a constitution which was adopted by the people in October. It was so well understood that the portion of Michigan Territory west of the lake would be set off as a separate territory, that in August, 1835 an act was passed arranging for the election from the western portion of a Congressional delegate and of a legislative council to meet at Green Bay the first of January, 1836. Several candidates appeared for the delegate's office, from among whom George Wallace Jones of Sinsinawa Mound was elected. He appeared in Congress as delegate from Michigan Territory, since Michigan, involved in a border difficulty with Ohio, was not yet admitted as a state in the Union. Likewise the legislative council that met at Green Bay was designated the Seventh Legislative Council

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 472-76.

of Michigan Territory. This rump body, of which Col. William S. Hamilton was president, accomplished little; it passed resolutions condemning the absence of the acting governor, John Scott Horner, and adjourned at the end of a two weeks' session.

Meanwhile the bill to establish a territorial government for Wisconsin was moving forward in Congress and was signed by President Jackson April 20, 1836. It provided for the organization of the territory on July 4 and for a census, which resulted in numbering 22,218 people in the territory, of which nearly one-half were west of the Mississippi River. The territory then comprised six counties, two of which lay beyond the Mississippi, leaving what is now Wisconsin divided into Brown, Crawford, Iowa, and Milwaukee counties. Wisconsin's population was sufficient to make her a territory of the third rank, fully equipped with an elected assembly and council and an appointed territorial court. Since it was the first territory organized under President Jackson's régime, its offices were much in demand. Wisconsin's inhabitants considered themselves fortunate in having Henry Dodge, long a resident among them, chosen for governor. The appointment of John Scott Horner as secretary was less acceptable; the office was retained by the incumbent but a short time, William B. Slaughter being appointed by the president on February 16, 1837. The actual presence of the governor in the territory during nearly all of the twelve years of its existence rendered the office of territorial secretary a subordinate one. The other appointive officers were Charles Dunn, chief justice; William C. Frazer and David Irvin, associate justices; William W. Chapman, United States district attorney.

The first legislature, composed of a council of thirteen members and an assembly of twenty-six, met October 25, 1836 at Belmont in the mining region. Belmont was a "paper" town promoted by the new chief justice, Charles

Dunn, and located near the Platte Mounds in what is now Lafayette County. It arose like a balloon and like one collapsed with the departure of the capital. In 1836, however, "the most extravagant plans and speculations were indulged in, while each individual appeared to feel a happy consciousness that wealth and honors were just within his grasp. Immense improvements were projected and displayed in a most attractive manner upon paper in the shape of spacious hotels, boarding houses, princely mansions, and a capitol or legislative hall (the latter to be, of course, at the expense of 'Uncle Sam') in a style intended to eclipse all similar edifices in the country."[22] In contrast to these anticipations the site of Belmont is today covered by a farmstead.

The location of the future capital was the chief subject that agitated the first legislature. Among all the promoters of the time, James D. Doty was the most successful; and the site he had chosen between Third and Fourth lakes became that adopted for the future capital. It is charged that a judicious distribution among the legislators of lots in the coming town of Madison aided in securing the decision. Be this as it may, Belmont was soon deserted and the second session of the first legislature met at Burlington, in what is now Iowa. The second territorial legislature met in Madison on November 26, 1838.

Preparations for a capitol building had been begun early in 1837. Before the snow had left the ground the Peck family had removed from Blue Mounds in order to provide a boarding place for the men engaged in its construction. Augustus A. Bird, the capitol commissioner, bought sawmill machinery in the East; and early in the summer of 1837 it was landed from a steamboat at Milwaukee. Thence Bird's men cut a rude trace and hauled the machinery and supplies overland, arriving in time to celebrate the Fourth of July in the

[22] *Ibid.*, VI, 298-99.

woods of the new capital. Soon thereafter a quarry was opened at what is now Maple Bluff, and stone was brought across the lake in a scow. Amidst great difficulties the commissioners struggled to be ready for the legislature. With all their efforts the building was unfinished, and the cold was so intense that in December of 1838 a month's recess was taken that accommodations might be improved.

At this and succeeding sessions of the territorial legislatures internal improvements were the most important measures discussed. Numerous roads were ordered to be laid out, charters were granted for railroads that were never built, ferries were licensed, and dams permitted on unnavigable streams. The national government was petitioned for river and harbor improvements, for lighthouses and mail routes. Two large projects for waterways were vigorously promoted. These were the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal and the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement. The former was promoted by Milwaukee capitalists, the latter by those of Green Bay. Both projects secured land grants from Congress and both became seriously involved in political disputes. No work of importance was ever done on the Rock River project; the canal at Portage and the water control of the lower Fox River are the results of the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement, which in 1872 was taken over by the federal government. In fact the navigation of either route was possible only to light draft and small-sized craft that could never compete in modern times with the rail carriers.

Other matters with which the territorial legislatures concerned themselves were the organization of counties and towns, the adjustment of local government, the adoption and revision of a legal code, and the chartering and investigating of banks.

GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY

The growth of Wisconsin's population during the years of her territorial existence was phenomenal. In 1838 Con-

gress cut off the territory of Iowa and ordered a new census. The 11,683 of 1836 had in two years become 18,149. At the federal census of 1840 Wisconsin was found to contain 30,747 people. Two years later the total was 46,678. The increase now accelerated, and by 1846 the population had nearly quadrupled, numbering (with reports from three sparsely populated counties missing) 155,277. In 1847 the official report was 210,546.

Until after 1840 practically all the people dwelt south of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. During the later years of the territorial period the upper Wisconsin, the upper Mississippi, and the shores of Green Bay began to be fringed with hamlets and farms. The first territorial legislature divided the four counties previously established by Michigan into fifteen. This number was almost doubled in twelve years, Wisconsin becoming a state with twenty-nine organized counties.

Hand in hand with the growth of population went the increase of facilities for intercommunication. In 1832 there were four post routes for monthly mails. In 1836 the government let contracts for sixteen weekly mails. By 1838 the number was doubled; and on some routes biweekly and triweekly mails were ordered. The same year there were eighty postoffices within the territory. Ten years later the postoffices had become 286, and the contractors for mail routes numbered fifty-nine.

The need of roads was considered by each successive territorial legislature. The United States spent during the territorial period $67,000 on military roads within our borders. Each legislature ordered the survey and opening of roads between various village centers. As an example of the progress made a Madison newspaper in 1842 says, "Five years ago there were but three houses on the one road between Madison and Milwaukee. There are now four roads, one of which passes through many of the best cultivated and most tastefully improved farms west of New York; nearly all of

which are owned and occupied by the industrious, enterprising, and intelligent sons of New York and New England."[23]

None the less the territorial roads were very poor—at certain seasons almost impassable. At all seasons transportation delays were probable; and the problem of moving men and goods was acute throughout all the territorial period. In 1845 Governor Tallmadge recommended to the legislature the consideration of plank roads. These were, however, first undertaken by private enterprise. In 1846 the first plank toll road from Milwaukee to Lisbon was chartered; but not until the territory became a state did the plank road system ameliorate the wretched roads of early-day Wisconsin.

Railroads were much discussed; nine railways were incorporated during the territorial epoch, but no rails were laid within the state until 1850.

The earliest travelers went through the country on horseback; the first immigrants came in by oxcarts. Prairie schooners and wagons of every type were drawn by horses or oxen, even cows being sometimes harnessed to light vehicles. In winter sleds and sleighs, particularly the long French "train" drawn by two horses tandem, replaced wheeled vehicles.

From private vehicles progress was soon made to stages. Before the organization of the territory there was but one stage line running from Galena to Mineral Point. By 1841 stages crossed the territory weekly by two main routes from Green Bay to Mineral Point, and from Milwaukee via Madison to Galena. The trip to Madison took two days. By 1848 a daily line of coaches ran from Milwaukee to Galena in three days, taking alternately the route through Troy, Janesville, and Shullsburg, and that through Waukesha, Madison, and Mineral Point. A branch ran from Janesville to Rockford and Dixon, Illinois, connecting with the Chicago stage. Another ran from Madison via Watertown and Fond du Lac

[23] Keyes, E. W., *History of Dane County* (Madison, 1906), 114.

to Green Bay. Connections were made three times a week between Racine and Janesville, Kenosha (then Southport) and Madison. From Milwaukee north and south lines ran to Chicago and to Sheboygan.[24]

Along the stage routes and beside most of the territorial roads taverns of various degrees of excellence quickly sprang up. The earliest accommodations were log cabins, on the floors of which travelers spread their own blankets. By 1845 Green Bay, Milwaukee, Madison, and some other towns had hostelries dignified by the name of hotels.

During the territorial days land was the chief source of wealth. By 1838 the government had sold $1,378,766.73 worth of land. In 1844 the assessed value of the real estate was $8,077,200.00. Nineteen-twentieths of Wisconsin's population lived on farms. The climate placing this region beyond the corn range, "hog and hominy" could not be depended upon for crops. Moreover the majority of the settlers from New York and New England were accustomed to raising grain. Wisconsin's virgin loam produced without fertilization the small grains, of which wheat was the most profitable. Wisconsin soon became a one-crop region. In 1839, 212,166 bushels were produced from 15,151 acres. Barley, oats, and rye together totaled but 119,545 bushels. Wisconsin's product in her first year of statehood was 4,286,131 bushels of wheat, making her the ninth in the wheat-producing states of the Union.

The difficulty of transporting the crop grew with the distance from the lake shore. In 1839 the center of the wheat farms lay in Racine, Milwaukee, and Walworth counties. By the next decade the wheat growing center was in Rock, Jefferson, and Dodge counties. The price of freight from Watertown to Milwaukee ranged from ten to twenty cents per bushel. Within the next decade the marketing problems were lessened by the creation of plank roads and railroads.

[24] Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings,* 1914, 132.

Next to the wheat and grain products the minerals of southwestern Wisconsin brought wealth. This, the oldest settled region, kept for a long time a distinct character allied to the south and southwest. Its population, however, was nearly stationary. The production of lead reached its greatest point by 1844 and thereafter declined. Agriculture in this region developed slowly, since titles to land could not be secured so long as there was mineral upon it. In 1842 Congress passed an act for the relief of such farmholders; some who had lived for twenty years upon their improvements then first secured titles. With the decline of mining the old frontier character of the mining region passed away. The shifting populace moved off to new centers, notably to California in 1848. About the middle of the forties the lines of transportation shifted. Lead began to be hauled to the lake board; by 1847 the bulk of the product crossed the territory in wagons drawn by six- and eight-yoke ox teams and was transshipped by steamer to the East. With this change in connections, the population of the southwestern portion of Wisconsin began to assimilate to the type of the remainder of the territory. The lead-mining region, however, has never quite overtaken the remainder of the state in enterprise and in the production of wealth.

The lumbering industry began during the territorial era in several pineries that later became the scene of large operations. The first sawmill on the upper Wisconsin was built at Point Bas in 1835. After the Menominee treaty of 1836 a fringe of sawmills quickly rose on the banks of the Wisconsin as far north as Wausau. Lumbering on Black River was begun as early as 1819; not until twenty years later was the first mill built upon that stream, when J. D. Spaulding preempted the Black River Falls. By 1844 lumber was run out into the Mississippi in considerable quantity. About the same time a few logs were cut upon the St. Croix and the

Chippewa, but the exploitation of these regions did not really begin until after 1848.

The greatest need of the young territory was for capital. However, after the flush times of the first territorial years had culminated in the crash of 1837, great distrust was felt for all financial institutions. The suffering occasioned by the panic was greater in the new country than in the older regions. Everyone was in debt; the money in circulation was useless. Hundreds of families on the frontier lived entirely on potatoes and salt during the winter of 1837-38. The neighborliness and brotherhood of the frontier community showed itself in ways that alleviated much of the suffering. He who had, shared with his neighbor. Recovery from the panic of 1837 was on the whole more rapid in the West than in the East; the good harvests, the land for all, the optimism in future prospects tended to restore confidence and to rebuild credit within the territory. It was long, however, before eastern capital overcame the distrust of Wisconsin occasioned by the panic of 1837.

The dislike for instruments of credit endured throughout the territorial period. The very name of a bank was anathema. Every charter granted by the legislature, even that for a school or a church, contained a proviso that nothing in these provisions should be construed as a grant for banking privileges. This was due to the hard experience of the first two territorial years. The first legislature incorporated three banks for Dubuque, Mineral Point, and Milwaukee; one was already in existence at Green Bay. All these ultimately failed disastrously and thus prejudice was awakened against all banks. But while "the name is a bugbear they detest, the thing is a boon they need and welcome," so in 1839 the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company was incorporated with permission to receive money on deposit and lend the same at interest. This company, established in Milwaukee and managed by the Scotch financier, Alexander Mitchell,

became one of the strongest financial institutions in the Northwest and of untold value in developing the resources of the future state.

Living conditions in the territory were hard but wholesome. The friendliness of the frontier manifested itself in valuable help for incoming neighbors. There was no sign of caste or class spirit. The needs of one were the opportunities of all. As a rule each family was a unit largely self-sufficing. When necessity arose for combined labor, it was accomplished by voluntary services called "bees," which were made the occasion of social recreation. The most important "bee" was that for cabin making. The logs were cut and trimmed beforehand, and people came for miles around to take part in the "raising." The proper space having been marked off, the logs were quickly rolled and laid in place, notched at the ends to hold firm. The roof was made of bark or "shakes," the floor of puncheons—logs split in two with the rounded side down. The interstices between the logs were chinked in with clay or mud and usually whitewashed both inside and out. Sometimes the entire cabin was made without the use of nails. A blanket was used for a door until a board one could be made. Windows were covered with shutters; but few had in them any glass. The most important part of the structure was the chimney, which sometimes occupied all one side of the cabin. This was commonly built of small stones and clay, although sticks occasionally took the place of stones. Into this capacious fireplace great logs were hauled, sometimes by the help of a horse, to keep the family warm in the severe Wisconsin winters. Almost all the immigrants from the older states brought with them furniture, cooking utensils, linen for table and beds, and some store of quilts and clothing. Additional furniture was quickly provided by the handy skill of the men and boys. Bedsteads were improvised with one side fastened between the logs. Ticks were filled with straw or hay, and most housewives brought with them a cherished

feather bed. Food was seldom scarce. The "truck patch" quickly furnished vegetables, while the woods and streams abounded with fish and game. Deer were easily obtained, and plenty of smaller animals and game birds were within reach of a gun. Flour was often lacking because of the difficulties of going to mill. Hand mills and wooden pestles and mortars were often resorted to for temporary supplies of pounded meal.

Tools and implements were precious, one settler having to go all the way to Chicago to replace a lost ax. Except the ax and hammer, tools were freely borrowed and lent; agricultural implements were almost common property. One grindstone usually served a considerable community. The repair shop of the village blacksmith was a great convenience for isolated settlers, who had before his coming made long journeys to replace and repair their tools. Men assisted one another not only at house raisings, but at ploughing and harvesting, clearing land and grubbing stumps, fencing, and planting. Sickness, death, and marriage were community affairs. Everyone lent a helping hand, and any skill or ability he possessed was at the service of the neighbors.

Amusements were rude and promiscuous. Dancing was much favored, except among the religious people. Taverns were utilized for dances, and good music was produced from the cherished "fiddle." Singing schools were frequent, and a good singing teacher was much in demand. Relaxation from the stern realities of life came chiefly through religious services. Sunday was kept as a rest day by common consent; pioneer preachers came into the territory among its earliest immigrants.

In point of time the Catholics were the first missionaries in preterritorial Wisconsin. A Trappist monk from Illinois visited Prairie du Chien in 1817; the first church building was completed at Green Bay in 1825. In 1835 an Austrian priest, Father Baraga, built a chapel on Madeline Island. The first

German Catholic missionary arrived at Milwaukee in 1842; two years later a bishopric was established at Milwaukee whose first incumbent was Bishop Henni. Under his care parishes were organized in all the larger towns of the territory and in many country communities.

The Episcopalians in 1822 began Indian mission work at Green Bay where Eleazer Williams, who later claimed to be the lost dauphin of France, accompanied the New York Indians to their Wisconsin homes. In 1827 a large school for Indian youth was built at Green Bay; the same year at the same place Christ Episcopal Church was organized. The Reverend Jackson Kemper, in 1835 consecrated missionary bishop for the Northwest, speedily organized parishes at Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and in 1841 founded Nashotah Seminary. In 1848 there were twenty-three clergymen, twenty-five parishes, and about a thousand communicants in Wisconsin.

The Methodist itinerants appeared early in the lead-mining region where the first class was organized in 1832. The same year Father John Clark was appointed missionary to Green Bay; while furthering Indian missions he also established classes among the American people. Preaching service was held in Milwaukee from 1835 onward; the first church was built in 1841. In 1848 Wisconsin Conference was organized with four districts, fifty-seven churches, sixty-two preachers, and nearly ten thousand members.

The first Congregational service was held at Fort Howard in 1820 by the Reverend Jedediah Morse of the American Board for Foreign Missions. This society and the American Home Missionary Society supported Indian missions on Fox River and Chequamegon Bay. At the latter place the mission church antedated the Catholic mission, and still preserved is doubtless the oldest church building in Wisconsin. Work among the miners was begun in 1829; three of the six members of the first church at Galena in 1831 lived at Mineral

Point. By 1840 there were eight Presbyterian and eight Congregational churches in the territory, and a union was formed for a common association that lasted for ten years. In 1850 the association had 4,286 members in 111 churches, of which 83 were organized Congregationally.

The Baptists began work at Kenosha among the earliest pioneers. About the year 1836 societies were formed at Milwaukee and Waukesha. Delavan was a temperance colony of Baptists from New York, and there was built in 1841 the first church edifice. The first convention met at this church in 1844 when 1,500 members were reported. By 1850 there were in the state Baptist convention 64 churches, 52 pastors, and 3,198 members.

Higher education within the territory was considered the function of the religious bodies. Numbers of academies and institutes were chartered, all to be placed under private or denominational control. Few of these attained true collegiate rank until the period of statehood. Prairieville Academy became in 1846 Carroll College; Beloit College laid the foundation of its first college building in 1847, and five students entered the freshman class that autumn; Lawrence Institute was projected in 1846, chartered in 1847, and opened its doors for pupils in September, 1848. Milton Academy was later raised to collegiate grade; and Platteville Academy laid the foundation for the first normal school. The only real public high school during the territorial period was that founded in 1847 by the efforts of I. A. Lapham at Milwaukee.

Elementary schools developed very slowly during the territorial period. Until 1839 there was no provision by law for any school equipment except that authorized under the Michigan statutes. One small public school was begun in Milwaukee in 1837 under the latter's provisions. In 1845, however, there was not a true public school in Milwaukee. The district school law of 1839 was very inadequate; the idea of tax-supported education had many and powerful oppo-

nents. In 1845 a free public school was organized at Kenosha, and under the stimulus of Michael Frank of that city a bill was put through the legislature of that year authorizing public taxation for educational purposes. This law acted as a powerful stimulus to the erection of schools. Milwaukee's school system was begun in 1846; by 1848 there were five public school buildings "equal to anything in New York, Boston, or Albany." The state constitution adopted in 1848 provided that "district schools shall be free, and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years."[25]

Reform movements in the territory were numerous. Many of the early settlers came west imbued with the hope of promoting reforms on virgin soil. Among such were the Phoenix brothers, founders of Delavan, who with every transfer of a town lot provided that no liquor should ever be sold thereon. A temperance society was also organized among the earliest settlers. Walworth County had a county temperance society in 1839; Kenosha was an early leader in the same movement. In 1841 the Walworth County society secured the first liquor law from the legislature, exempting millers from compulsory service for distilleries. Local option laws were also passed during the territorial period. Several temperance orders or brotherhoods, such as the "Washingtonians" and "Sons of Temperance," had chapters in territorial Wisconsin.

Antislavery ideas flourished strongly in early-day Wisconsin. Henry Dodge and the Gratiot brothers came to this region from Missouri to escape from slavery. They brought with them family servants whom they liberated after a certain term of service. In Racine and Walworth counties there was a strong Liberty party element eager for political action. In 1843 a candidate of that party was named for Congressional delegate; and two newspapers, the *Aegis* at Racine.

[25] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V, 342.

and the *American Freeman* at Waukesha, appeared. The latter became the party organ and was ably edited for several years by Ichabod Codding and C. C. Sholes. The same year, 1843, antislavery votes elected the sheriff for Milwaukee and the next year defeated the Whig candidate in Walworth County. The vote grew with the election of each Congressional delegate until in 1849 Charles Durkee of Wisconsin became the first Liberty party man to sit in the House of Representatives. Suffrage for negroes was defeated by a referendum in 1847; but the vote of 7,664 in favor of the measure shows the strength of antislavery sentiment in the territory.

Communistic sentiment was strong during the period of the forties several coöperative colonies were organized in Wisconsin. Of these, the most noteworthy was the Wisconsin Phalanx, founded at Kenosha in 1844. This Fourierite community built Ceresco at the present Ripon and maintained itself until 1850. English coöperative communities selected Wisconsin as the site of their experiments. Some followers of Robert Owen founded North Prairie in Waukesha County, and a Utilitarian Society settled in Mukwonago. A British Temperance Emigration Society was founded in 1843 at Liverpool. This was a philanthropic rather than a communal enterprise, but shareholders were entitled to privileges secured by united action. Lawrence Heyworth, a wealthy philanthropist, was president and came in person to Wisconsin to promote the enterprise. The 1,600 acres of land purchased lay in western Dane and eastern Iowa counties; thereon many English mechanics and farm laborers were settled as a result of the movement. A Mormon colony was for some time settled at Voree in Walworth County. Thus Wisconsin had her share of enthusiasts seeking to found Utopias in her midst.

(To be continued)

OBSERVATIONS OF A CONTRACT SURGEON

WILLIAM F. WHYTE

I am requested to write a short narrative of my experiences n army service as a contract officer. The experiences of a nedical officer of an army are as a rule in the highest degree nromantic. I have not been enough of a soldier to boast of ny achievements. I cannot shoulder my crutch and show ow fields are won, but I will attempt to tell how a man with a desire to serve a great cause can do his duty and be as useful as if he carried a rifle or handled a machine gun. When war with Germany was declared I wrote to the surgeon general's office offering my services and received the reply hat I was beyond the age of commission. Three months later I applied again with the same result. I foresaw that there would be a great demand for medical officers and if volunteers did not come forward to meet the wants of the rapidly mobiliz- ng army, it might be found necessary to let down the bars and admit men to the medical service who were over age of commission (fifty-five), if they were found to be profession- ally and physically qualified. My guess was a good one, for the surgeon general, who is certainly a high class man and patriotically desired to do his whole duty in putting into the field a physically perfect army, found that there were not enough well-trained men among the medical recruits to act as tuberculosis examiners. Reserve officers in large numbers were being trained for that service, but until there should be a sufficient number to meet the demand the surgeon general asked a number of the life insurance companies to propose the names of their experienced examiners who could be called on for a few months to fill the gap.

My name was proposed to the War Department in September, and on November 1, I was ordered to Fort Benjamin

Harrison for a short preliminary training. I might say here that the regular army officers did not favor this method of filling up the ranks of the service with contract men, and I was told soon after reaching Fort Harrison that I must be prepared to be snubbed by the camp surgeons, who were ready to make themselves disagreeable and if possible demonstrate to the contract officer that he was an unnecessary factor in the army. If I had known that the M. O. T. C. (Medical Officers Training Camp) at Fort Harrison was a try-out affair as well as a training camp, my enthusiasm might have received a setback at the beginning of my service. I was told at Washington by Colonel Bruns when I asked him why my contract read "for thirty days" that it was only a form. Some of my colleagues found that it was a reality, for at the end of thirty days they were ordered home. In my class at Fort Benjamin Harrison there were eight contract officers; two were ordered to Camp Custer at the end of the period; the remainder got their orders to go home at government expense. Fort Benjamin Harrison was a M. O. T. C.; in addition there were about three thousand recruits from the national army in training. The men had been in camp two months, and as I watched their evolutions I said to an acquaintance, "I don't believe the German army can produce the equal of those fellows." I had seen the Potsdam garrison, the flower of the Prussian army, at Berlin thirty years before, and the Prussian soldiers always impressed me as well drilled machines without spirit or initiative.

I went to headquarters to report. While there I met Captain Stoll, one of the instructors. I asked him if I could get a good room in the barracks. I had an inkling of the hardships which to a young fellow might seem hardly worth noticing, but to a man over sixty-five were matters for serious consideration. He smilingly replied, "Why, Doctor, we will give you a room and bath." I was directed to Barracks No. 3 and told that I might sleep in that particular shanty, but would

have to furnish my own cot and bedding. There were in all forty occupants of the barracks. I bought an army cot and mattress and borrowed some quilts from the quartermaster until my bedding should arrive. I had never slept on such a contraption before and by 4 A. M. I was wide awake and anathematizing the hard spots in my mattress. When reveille sounded at six o'clock I got up with the alacrity of youth and seizing my wash basin and towel made a rush for the bath room (eighteen showers) a hundred yards away. After a hasty rub I managed to get dressed by the time the breakfast bell rang at six-thirty. In the mess room at Fort Benjamin Harrison, if you brought your manners with you, the chances were that you would go away hungry. I took note of the situation in about one minute. I will not say how fast or how much I ate; a country doctor after forty years' experience, who has a good digestion, becomes what David Harum calls "a good feeder." I did my best and left the mess table with my hunger appeased.

The tuberculosis branch of the training camp numbered about thirty or forty medical officers of whom eight, like myself, were in service by contract. The two instructors, Major Hoyt of Philadelphia and Captain Stoll of Hartford, were high class men. Their duties consisted in instructing the men in the army method of chest examination and incidentally in finding out if a man knew enough about physical diagnosis to measure up to the requirements of the service. I had been out of practice for four years and felt rather timid, but in a day or two I gained confidence. I found some of the men were weaker than myself. It was intensive work—six hours daily—with the evening taken up by study. I did not have much time to worry about my future. Still, I was greatly relieved when I received orders to go to Camp Custer. It was certainly a matter for self-congratulation, that an old fellow who might be called rusty through lack of practice was deemed qualified to act as a tuberculosis examiner in the army.

The contract surgeon ranks as first lieutenant only, wit
no chance for promotion. No quarters are assigned hi
unless he is on active duty in foreign service or in a trainin
camp; and he has no right to claim pension for disease o
injury contracted in the service. The knowledge also that h
is to a certain extent looked down on as an inferior by som
young fellow who is proud of his lieutenant's bars and hi
uniform makes the position of the contract officer the revers
of agreeable. The feeling, however, that he is serving a grea
cause is a solace that makes his life endurable. One noble ol
fellow, a doctor from Minnesota, aged sixty-nine, was heart
broken when he was ordered home. He was full of patrioti
zeal and had tried to enlist as a private when war was declared
He was very happy at the prospect of being in the medica
service and told of his grandson who was in the army in th
South and what a joy it would be if he could be ordered t
serve in the same camp. It was my good fortune to go t
a camp where my son was stationed as a lieutenant in th
310th Engineers. I wired my wife to meet me there.

Camp Custer is beautifully located five miles from Battl
Creek, Michigan. The camp was on a high ridge surrounde
by marshy land, an ideal situation from a sanitary standpoint
A fine asphalt road and a cheap jitney service rendered it s
accessible that several hundred army officers' families lived i
Battle Creek. The trolley service between the camp and th
town was also prompt and reasonable in price.

My wife soon engaged pleasant rooms in Battle Creek
and although work in the camp was strenuous, my colleague
were pleasant fellows, and the homecoming every afternoo
was the reverse of disagreeable. The only drawback to th
life of the camp was the thought which would come into m
mind every day that I was examining men to ascertai
whether they were fit to be shot by German snipers.

The winter of 1917-18 was extremely cold in Michigan
Some of the army officers thought it would toughen the men t

have them drill and go on hikes in the severest weather; the result was frozen faces, fingers, and feet. The regimental surgeons protested to the commandant against such inhumanity, but were told to mind their own business. When, however, the martinet at the head of the camp was threatened with an appeal to Washington there was a right-about face and the men were not ordered out except when the surgical staff approved. To make a man stand guard for two hours over a mule or a truck when the thermometer registered twenty below zero may have been in accordance with army regulations, but it conflicted with common sense and humanity.

We were told at Fort Benjamin Harrison by Major Hoyt that fifty examinations would be considered a day's work; after a few weeks we found that a man was considered inefficient if he could not make seventy-five in one day. The President of the Board, which usually consisted of twelve members, wanted to make a good record in the surgeon general's office, and so we were urged to speed up as rapidly as was consistent with accuracy of diagnosis. I will describe the method followed at Camp Custer, although we were compelled afterwards to modify it to a certain extent. The men were brought to the base hospital, one hundred at a time. An orderly gave them instruction as to how to breathe and cough when they came before the examiners. They were stripped to the waist and the examiner applied his stethoscope in twenty different places on the chest, the soldier breathing and coughing meanwhile. (Hand before your mouth; breathe in, breathe out, and cough, was the method.) Three minutes was the time allowed for the examination of the normal chest, including the heart.

When an abnormality was detected the examiner referred the case to his associate, who occupied the same room. If he also found the same lesion, the case was referred to the captain of the Board. If the lesion was a serious one the man was sent to the Superior Board which consisted of three examiners,

who S. C. D.'d him (marked him for discharge from the army). If the disease was slight, the man was not sent to the Superior Board but was ordered to return in ten days, when all the "come backs," as they were called, were examined by the whole board. This was a different proposition from examining a patient in the doctor's office. People who come there are sick, or think they are. These were men who had all been passed on by local boards; none of them knew or thought anything was the matter with their lungs or hearts. I frequently made the remark to my colleagues, "How could this man pass a board?" His unfitness for any army service was so apparent. I have been led to believe that the local examiners passed many "no goods," thinking that they might possibly get by the camp tuberculosis examiners, and thus the community would be rid of an undesirable.

The acid test was "activity." If there was a minute area of active disease in the upper lobe of either lung, the man was rejected without hesitation; but if either lung showed a tubercular deposit in a quiescent condition, he was allowed to go through unless the area involved was too large. As Colonel Bushnell, the head of the tuberculosis work in the army, himself a victim of chronic tuberculosis, said, "These men may outlive any of you." It is a well-known fact proved by post-mortem statistics, that a large majority of those people who die of other ailments have had tuberculosis some time in their life. Physical appearances were often very deceptive. A skinny little chap in spite of his appearance would be found to have normal lungs, while a stalwart muscular giant would be found with active disease. The heaviest man I examined in the army—a Brooklyn recruit who weighed two hundred forty-nine pounds—had a well-marked cicatrized cavity in his upper left lobe. He had no doubt been a long-time patron of those widely advertised and well-known citizens of New York, George Ehret, or Jack Ruppert, who are now engaged in the manufacture of two and three-fourths' per cent beer. He was

no doubt discharged from the service, as a man in his condition would soon break down under the strenuous discipline of army life.

The daily grind at Camp Custer was from 8 to 11:30 A. M., and from 1:30 to 4 or 5 P. M. just as the men were brought in for examination. With the methods prescribed there we found that examining seventy-five men was a heavy day's work. The officers came in hit or miss; they were allowed to undress in the examiner's room, while the privates took off their clothes in the hallway and came in by number.

From twenty-one thousand six hundred forty recruits examined at Camp Custer we rejected ninety-six for tuberculosis. Three hundred were held in reserve for future observation as they showed quiescent lesions or what is called fibrosis. One hundred thirty-eight were rejected for heart disease, and two hundred were held up for other chest defects. One of our Board with a mathematical turn of mind found that it cost Uncle Sam thirty cents a head for tuberculosis examinations. A Canadian medical expert has recently estimated that every case of tuberculosis who went to France and was sent home for treatment cost the Canadian government $5,250. Thus the importance of trained tuberculosis examiners can easily be understood. A man in the service with tuberculosis is not only a source of infection but a deadweight and a drag on the army.

As our work was coming to a close, the President of our Board said one morning, "I want five of you gentlemen to go with me to headquarters to examine the higher officers," and called for volunteers. I said that I would as soon examine a colored boy as a colonel. He afterwards told an amusing story of his experience with the commanding general. The General said to him, "Major, I suppose that I will have to be examined."

The Major replied, "That is the order from the surgeon general's office."

"Well, it is all damned nonsense. I was examined at Washington three months ago."

"Very well," said the Major, "I will have to report you as not examined."

The General took off his jacket and pulled up his shirt and said gruffly, "Now you can examine me."

"You will have to take your shirt off," said the Major.

"Damned if I will," snarled the General, walking up and down the room.

The Major waited until he caught the irate officer's eye, saluted, and quietly walked out. The next day he received a telephone call from headquarters asking when it would be convenient for him to come down and examine General ———. An ambulance would be sent for him. He was most courteously received when he reached headquarters, and the General submitted to be examined according to regulations. The Major told us afterwards: "I want you, gentlemen, to remember this, for when you are on your ground stand by the army regulations regardless of the rank of any man who may be your superior officer."

We examined one day six hundred men from the officers' training camp who had fallen down at the first camp and got their commissions after several months' subsequent training. The major at the head of our Board said to me afterwards, "God help the United States of America if that is the kind of stuff they are going to make officers of." A large proportion of them might properly be called culls. However, the young fellows aspiring to commissions whom we examined at Camp Dix were certainly high class men. I do not believe that their superiors could have been found in any army in the world.

I have said that I got the impression that the local boards sent unfit men into the service with the idea of getting rid of the "no goods" in the community. That policy met with no success, as a man who had to undergo the careful scrutiny of

nine examining boards was sure to be caught somewhere if he had any serious physical or mental defect. I have no doubt but that the American army was superior to that of any of the other warring nations, as we had not at any time a shortage of man power and therefore it was not necessary to accept any man below the army standard.

Occasionally a line officer would interfere and try to exert his influence against the decision of the examiners. I remember a case at Camp Custer where my associate found activity in the upper lobe of the left lung in what is called "Kronigs isthmus." I confirmed his diagnosis. The captain was called in; he agreed with us, and the man was sent to the Superior Board and marked for rejection. He had been twenty years in the army and was very indignant when he perceived that we were not going to pass him. He said he had merely a cold which he had contracted by being moved from Mexico to Michigan. He had been a soldier in the "pacifist" war which our country had been conducting on the border the year before. The next week he returned with a new service record. We asked him how he got it. He replied, "My colonel don't believe you doctors. He says I have only a bad cold." He was marked for rejection but came again with a new record. After his third rejection we were told that he was the colonel's pet and an excellent man to take care of horses. When he came back the fourth time he had no papers but begged for another examination. I said to him "My boy, the government will take good care of you and send you to a sanitarium in New Mexico. You tell your colonel that he can't put it over any tuberculosis examiner in the army; under no condition will you be allowed to go overseas with your regiment." I was sorry for him as he was an Irishman, full of fight, and anxious, as he said, to get a shot at the "German devils."

The last week in January saw the finish of the work in Camp Custer. When I first went into the service I expected that I would not be needed more than three or four months

for the line of work I had engaged to do. When we had examined all the recruits in Camp Custer the officers in the medical reserve looked forward to a transfer; and I anticipated an order to go home. The experiment of employing contract surgeons from civil life had not proved a success. The medical men who went into the service for an indefinite time found the work hard, the environment unpleasant, the pay unremunerative, and after a few months the majority of them sent in their contracts to Washington for cancellation. I was told by the president of the Tuberculosis Board that if I would agree to stay in the service until the end of the war I would be ordered to Camp Greenleaf, Georgia, for instruction. Between the first and second drafts there was a lull in the work of examining recruits and the surgeon general thought it best to keep the examiners busy at the line of work they had been engaged in, so they were sent to various training camps in the South. My orders to Camp Greenleaf came on February 1. Anxious to leave a land of ice and snow we took the train at once for Chicago and then the "Dixie Flyer" (a misnomer) to Chattanooga. It was a happy change from a temperature of ten degrees below zero to the opening of a southern spring in forty-eight hours. Camp Greenleaf is located on the site of the battle field of Chickamauga and also on the exact spot where Chickamauga Camp was located during the Spanish American war. The great advance in sanitation since that time had revolutionized conditions and the camp, instead of being a breeding place for infections "without a microscope or a test tube," was strictly sanitary in all its appointments.

While at Camp Custer I had been advised by some of my colleagues to apply for a commission in the reserve, but the longer I served in the army the more pleased I was that my application was rejected. The contract officer does not sleep on a bed of roses, but he has much more freedom than is

allowed the regular army officer, and my rank in the service made life much easier for me.

When I reported at Camp Greenleaf, the young lieutenant who wrote down my personnel in the registry said, "You can put your cot in that corner, Lieutenant."

"I am not going to sleep here," I replied. "I am going to stay in Chattanooga with my wife."

"But you must stay in the barracks," he answered. "No one is allowed sleep out without a pass. It is tighter than hell here."

"I don't care how tight it is," I returned. "I am beyond the age of commission, and if I sleep in that barracks I'll get what you call pneumococcus bronchitis and die, and I don't propose to die in the service unless it is necessary."

"You will have to get a permit then."

"Very well," I said, "fill out an application and I will sign it."

I got the permit next morning. In a few minutes a sergeant approached me and said, "Lieutenant Colonel Beardsley wishes to speak to you. You will find him in that tent," pointing down the hill.

I went to the Colonel's tent and asked him what he wanted to see me about.

He said, "I will examine you physically today and medically tomorrow."

"I think not, Colonel," I answered. "I am a contract officer. I have already served in two camps and have been passed on medically at Fort Benjamin Harrison. I don't think that you need to take up any time with me."

"I rather think you are right, Lieutenant, and I will excuse you," was the reply. I was known in the camp in a few days as the man who did as he darn pleased. I inquired for Major Nichols, the head of the tuberculosis instructors, and next day became a member of his class.

I found that eight of my colleagues on the Board at Camp Custer who had preceded me to Camp Greenleaf had been engaged in the pleasant occupation of drilling in the Georgia mud. One of them, a fine fellow from Iowa, said to me, "My patriotism is all gone, and I am completely tired out." When I called on Colonel Page, the camp commandant, to get a permit to attend Major Nichols' class I told him who I was and where I had been. I said, "What do you think, Colonel? They told me I would have to drill here."

He broke into a hearty laugh. "Major, old fellows like you and I don't have to drill in this camp. That is damned nonsense."

I told him that my colleagues who had been drilled and trained at Fort Benjamin Harrison and who had been examining recruits at Camp Custer for several months were also drilling.

"Give me their names and I will see that they get something else to do besides drilling."

Colonel Page was a regular army officer, and his shoulder straps did not cause any swelling of his head such as we often noticed in officers of the national army.

Major Estes Nichols is a distinguished member of the medical profession and a well-known authority in New England on tuberculosis. He was very popular as a teacher, as was Major Good Kind of Chicago, who gave instruction in cardio vascular diseases. Captain Keltie of Philadelphia was the lecturer on pathology and an eloquent and impressive teacher.

Within a few days after my arrival at Camp Greenleaf I found one of the main reasons for the pneumococcus bronchitis which was so prevalent. The barracks were only shanties, built on posts as a foundation; the heating apparatus consisted of small stoves which required two men and a boy to "keep them in action." The medical officers would go out on a two hours' drill through the mud, one hundred twenty

steps per minute, and then with no opportunity to change their wet underwear would be compelled to sit in a cold barracks and listen to a lecture. A good friend of mine from Madison, a major in the service, went to the infirmary within a few days as a result of this discipline and was transferred to the hospital for several weeks to recover from an attack of broncho-pneumonia.

The medical staff of the base hospital at Fort Oglethorpe was insufficient in numbers and I gathered from what I saw in the wards (and the morgue) that some of the attending surgeons were not very strong on diagnosis. When a medical man cannot diagnose as common a complication of pneumonia as empyema until the subject reaches the post-mortem table, he does not deserve to rank high as a practitioner, whether in the army or in civil life. This is a painful subject, and I will not go more into detail as criticism at this late day will not accomplish any good. One finds in the army that it is the proper thing to keep silent but when a man has lived over sixty years in the world and has been in the habit of expressing his opinion on all subjects, it is rather trying to be compelled to keep quiet when he feels like denouncing incompetence. A friend of mine who had been fifteen years in the medical service told me that the only way to play the army game is to do as you are told by your superior officers and hold your tongue. A man who has an opinion of his own and expresses it does nothing but make trouble for himself. In the bosom of your family it is not always the part of wisdom to express a difference of opinion; in Uncle Sam's army it is the height of imprudence.

At Camp Custer and at Fort Benjamin Harrison the recruits we examined for admission to the service were men of fit quality for the making of first-class soldiers. When the physically unfit had been weeded out by the examining board, I do not think that finer material for an army could have been found in the world. Both the Huns and the Allies

were compelled to make use of every man who could march or carry a gun but we had the choice of the young manhood of America. Quite different were my impressions when I reached Camp Greenleaf and came in contact with the Southern cracker. The curse of slavery, the lack of the schoolhouse, hookworm and malaria, all have left their influence on the Southern boy of today. That the Civil War lasted four years can only be accounted for by the bravery of the Confederate soldier. That the men of the Southland fought like heroes cannot be denied; and they did so because it was in their blood.

I have spoken of the unnecessary drilling to which the medical officers were compelled to submit. Among the medical officers whose duties consisted of examining the lungs and hearts of the recruits there was a pronounced feeling that serious and often permanent damage was done by ignorant drillmasters to boys who had not been accustomed to strenuous physical exercise. In conversation one day with a prominent Philadelphia heart specialist on this subject he expressed himself emphatically on what he called the stupidity of the army regulations. He told me that one day in August on the parade ground at Fort Oglethorpe he saw some recruits drilled for two hours without a drop of water to drink with the thermometer at 100 in the shade. He denounced the practice of taking boys who had been clerks in stores and bookkeepers and putting them through the same drill which was required of lumbermen and farmers and athletes. He said that undoubtedly many cases of organic heart lesions would be developed by such senseless procedure. I am sure that some of the medical officers over forty-five suffered permanent injury by drilling when compelled to keep step with men of half their age on the parade ground.

One day at Camp Greenleaf I met a New England officer. I said to him, "Captain, what are you doing here?"

He replied, "I am drilling."

"How do you stand it?" I asked.

"I don't stand it. I pant like a dog when we are through. They put some of those long legged boys in the front rank and I have to keep up with them."

I told him that at his age (fifty-three) he was laying the foundation for heart disease in the future. At Camp Dix I became well acquainted with a medical officer fifty years old, from Tennessee. On the way home one evening I said to him, "Captain, you act blue tonight."

He replied, "I have the blues; I have been told that I have a presystolic murmur, and I am going to be S. C. D'd. I was perfectly well when I passed my examination for entrance into the service and I now am thrown into the discard. I gave up my practice and now I have to go back home and every enemy I have will point his finger at me as long as I live as a man whom Uncle Sam did not consider as competent for army service."

I have no doubt that his heart lesion had been developed by his strenuous exercise. Blundering on the part of "swivel chair artists" in Washington had done him a rank injustice.

The old saying that a man should not run after forty is a true one. The heart muscle begins to change between forty-five and fifty and a man who indulges in strenuous and unwonted exertion after that time is sure to pay the penalty. One of the most famous surgeons in the United States died from heart dilation as the result of mountain climbing in South America. The authorities in Washington are, no doubt, responsible for shortening the lives of many patriotic men who volunteered to serve their country and were compelled to endure unnecessary hardships which they did not dream of or were in no way fitted for when they entered the service. Fifty-five was the age limit and the War Department accepted men up to that age and drilled them as if they were boys.

The hygiene of the camps where it was my fortune to serve was excellent. Good drainage and pure water are necessities for a military camp. Some of the camps, especially in the South, were the reverse of hygienic. General Gorgas denounced the location of some as having been selected by political influence. One was located in what was practically a morass. Camp Bowie at one time had two thousand cases of sickness without a toilet. Politics were said to be adjourned, but it is not possible to escape the conclusion that this was a Southern democratic war, fought largely by Northern men and financed by Northern money. Representative Kitchin said publicly that the North wanted the war and they ought to pay for it.

I have said that some of the local boards seemed to think it was well to send the "no goods" from the small towns, thinking that in this way they could clean up their localities. It is probable that in some cases influences were brought to bear on the local examiners to keep sons of wealthy men at home. In one famous case the son of an automobile manufacturer was kept out of the service through pull with some high authority. He was probably not more fitted for a soldier than his father was for a United States senator. At Camp Custer I knew of a number of the sons of wealthy men and millionaires in their own right who were serving as privates.

I served for a short time at Camp Dix on a rejection board and one evening when leaving the infirmary where I was stationed I was asked if I would examine a sergeant who was about to go overseas; he wanted forty-eight-hour leave to see his wife, who had just given birth to a child. When I had finished my examination and took up his service record to affix my stamp I read the name of one of the best known families of railway magnates in this country. The young man's occupation was railroad president. He was made a lieutenant a short time after his arrival in France, as he was

n accomplished linguist. An entirely different case came
) my notice in Camp Dix—that of a colored man forty-two
ears old with a wife and three children; he had been drafted
om North Carolina. He was far past the draft age and
ld the examining board that he been told in his native town
at there was no escape for him. No doubt he filled the
oes of some favorite with a white skin. The colonel of the
giment took up the matter with the War Department and
e man was no doubt sent home to his family.

I feel certain that the majority of the medical reserve
en in the army would gladly have resigned and gone home,
; the irksomeness and boredom incident to life in a canton-
ent was in the highest degree trying to a man's nerves as
ell as to his patriotism. I knew men who were well quali-
ed surgeons in civil life who had been in the army a year
ithout seeing a sore finger. Counting blankets, picking up
gar stumps, scrubbing barrack floors, and splitting wood
ere hardly occupations for gentlemen who had gone into
e service as surgeons in time of war. I often said to some
' my colleagues on the T. B. examining board that if they
uld not go to France they were at least doing some useful
ork. The great and gallant force of men sent overseas
as the output of the boards, whose members certainly per-
rmed a duty only less useful than that of the surgeons who
n the firing line and in the hospitals of France and Flanders
nobly sustained the honor of the medical profession.

The first case of influenza was diagnosed at Camp Dix
n September 18. On the following Monday our examining
oard was disbanded and its members were all detailed for
ity in the hospital annexes which were hastily improvised
meet the overflow of cases from the base hospital. I was
diagnostician in Hospital Annex Number 3 and for three
eeks was compelled to see young fellows—the flower of
merican manhood—die like flies day by day. I had my
arters in Mount Holly, a few miles distant, and went to

Camp by train every day. It was very depressing to se twenty-five or more coffins at the station every morning whe I reached camp and a similar number there again when I wen home in the evening. There were over eight hundred death in Camp Dix from influenza. I was very glad to go bac to my work of examining hearts and lungs.

An incident which caused a great deal of comment at th time may be related here. When the epidemic had died ou General Scott gave permission for the reopening of the cam theaters and places of entertainment. The first time th "Big Y"—the largest Y. M. C. A. building—was opened movie was put on. Pictures were shown of prominent gov ernment officers, among them Secretaries Daniels and Bake I will not mention any others; with each there was a rippl of applause. When Colonel Roosevelt's picture was show on the screen, the applause was deafening. It was easy to se who, among national figures, was first in the hearts of th men at Camp Dix.

"The victorious retreat," as the Huns termed their rapi retrograde movements in the fall of 1918, showed plainl that the end of the war was in sight, and I sent in a reque to the surgeon general that my contract be cancelled on No vember 1, which completed a year of service in the army. felt that for a man in the sixty-eighth year of his age it ha been a great privilege to have worn Uncle Sam's uniform.

THE QUESTION BOX

The Wisconsin Historical Library has long maintained a bureau of historical information for the benefit of those who care to avail themselves of the service it offers. In "The Question Box" will be printed from time to time such queries, with the answers made to them, as possess sufficient general interest to render their publication worth while.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN THE CONVENTION OF 1846

There is a tradition among the older suffragists of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association that the enfranchisement of women was considered in the constitutional convention of 1846. I have looked over the recent publication of the Wisconsin Historical Society covering that convention and have found nothing to indicate that woman suffrage was proposed as a part of the tentative state constitution. Have you any further information on this matter than is contained in this volume? If so I shall be very glad indeed to have it. It might be of interest to answer the question in the quarterly magazine of the Society, but I shall greatly appreciate a personal reply at your early convenience.

I find in the proceedings of that convention much debate on the question of giving the colored man the right to vote. I have not been able to learn the political status of the negro in Wisconsin at that time. Was he recognized as a citizen, or if not what was his status? In the June number of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, page 460, in an article on the Wisconsin home of Frances E. Willard there appeared the statement that the referendum on giving negroes the right to vote in 1846 was carried by 5,000 majority. In the book from which I have been quoting and which I have not by me at this moment the statement is made that this referendum was defeated. Which statement is correct? If the referendum carried, did it continue in force even though the accompanying constitution was defeated? I am anxiously searching for light on this general situation and shall greatly appreciate your assistance.

THEODORA W. YOUMANS
Waukesha

You have gained a mistaken impression from the statement in the June MAGAZINE concerning the referendum of 1846 on negro suffrage, although there is an error in the statement of different character than the one noted by you. The question was not carried by 5,000

majority (in fact it was not carried at all), but we merely note that 5,000 votes were cast for it. The omission to state the number of negative votes has perhaps encouraged the inference you drew from the article. In fact, the vote was: 7,664 for negro suffrage to 14,615 against. All of this and much more on the subject of our state constitution will appear in succeeding volumes of the constitutional series, only the first of which has as yet come from the printer.

With respect to the question of woman's rights and woman suffrage in connection with the convention of 1846, I submit the following report which has been prepared by Miss Kellogg, research associate on the staff of the Historical Society:

The constitutional convention of 1846 was composed of the ablest men of the territory, many of whom were advanced thinkers on social questions. They discussed the status of woman from two points of view, her right to property and her right to the franchise. The article that was incorporated into the constitution on married women's property rights was the subject of considerable discussion. It was part of a provision to exempt a certain amount of family property from a forced sale for the debts of the head of the family or the husband. Such an exemption was vigorously demanded by the debtor class of the community, many of whom were suffering from the effects of the panic of 1837. Many worthy and industrious families had been evicted from their homesteads under the existing law; and many wives had lost all that they had received from their fathers or other relatives in discharge of their husbands' debts. The provision incorporated into the new constitution was taken from a similar one in the Texas constitution of 1845, which had been commended by the *Democratic Review*, then much read by the statesmen of the nation. This article read, in part, as follows: "All property, real and personal, of the wife, owned by her at the time of marriage, and also that acquired by her afterwards, by gift, devise, descent, or otherwise than from her husband shall be her separate property."

This article was objected to by the propertied class, and during the discussion thereupon Edward G. Ryan, later chief justice of the state, said that such a provision violated both the usages and customs of society and the express commands of the Bible; that its result would be to lead the wife to become a speculator, and would

destroy her character. David Noggle, an able jurist from Janesville, replied to Ryan and defended women against his suppositious charges. He asked the convention to reflect on the character and worth of the poor unfortunate beings that would be benefited by this provision. The young, intelligent, and lovely wife, who has abandoned her parents' rich and stately mansion in the East, has separated herself from friends near and dear to her, to embark with her husband in the far West, sees herself, through no fault of her own, reduced to penury. Who believes that giving her the right to hold her own property will destroy her character or alienate her affections from her husband? He closed his eloquent speech with this sententious truism, "Elevate your wives, and elevate your daughters, and you will elevate the race."

Noggle and other defenders of the article carried the convention; but one of its ablest members, Marshall M. Strong of Racine, resigned his seat when he found this provision was adopted and went home to do all he could to defeat the adoption of the constitution by popular referendum. Undoubtedly, this article did have some weight in securing the rejection of the constitution, and the one drawn by the convention of 1848 omitted any such provision. It was, however, approved by a large proportion of the community; and in less than two years after the establishment of the state government a law was passed giving married women control of their own property. In this matter, Wisconsin was among the most progressive of the states.

The discussion of the franchise for women in the convention of 1846 was incidental to the contest over negro suffrage and the franchise for foreign immigrants. Upon the organization of the convention a committee of five headed by Moses M. Strong of Iowa County was appointed to report an article on the elective franchise. Majority and minority reports were presented, the former giving the suffrage to every white male person twenty-one years of age or older who was a citizen of the United States or had been a resident in Wisconsin for six months and had declared his intention of becoming a citizen. The minority report omitted the word "white." This was in deference to the wishes of the Liberty party, which was making an issue of negro suffrage.

The discussion, thus precipitated in the convention, raged for several days, during which the question of the franchise for the Indians who had been admitted to United States citizenship arose. The chairman of the committee moved to extend franchise rights to Indians declared citizens, and within a few minutes amended his amendment by the term "male Indians." Upon October twenty-first, David Giddings, a relative of the famous Ohio abolitionist, moved to strike out the word "white" before "male persons" which would extend the right of suffrage to every male person over twenty-one years of age. Immediately James Magone, an Irishman from Milwaukee who had the reputation of being a wag, arose and "offered as an amendment that the word 'male' be stricken out, and the right of suffrage be extended to females as well as males. Moses M. Strong hoped the gentleman would withdraw the last amendment and allow those in favor of negro suffrage to obtain a vote and have a fair test of the question. Mr. Magone said he was in favor of females voting, and wished to tack the motion to a popular resolution to insure its success. Mr. Strong said he was a friend to females, and it was for that reason he did not wish to see them tacked on to negroes. Some further conversation passed between the gentlemen on the subject, and the question was then put on the adoption of Mr. Magone's amendment, which was lost."

We have cited this discussion *in extenso* in order to show that there was no really serious consideration of women's right to suffrage. The discussion thereof was an attempt to ridicule and embarrass the favorers of negro suffrage and to show how preposterous it was. In the end the convention omitted all provisions for negro suffrage but agreed to submit the question to a referendum to be voted upon separately when the constitution came before the people. Both constitution and separate provision for colored suffrage were defeated. The latter registered in its favor, however, about seven thousand votes, showing the strength of the Liberty party in the territory.

In 1856 petitions for the enfranchisement of women were submitted to the legislature. This was, apparently, the first serious effort to interest Wisconsin lawmakers in this movement.

WINNEBAGO BATTLE NEAR WYOCENA

There is a local tradition that during the Black Hawk War a party of Winnebago entrenched themselves in rifle pits in the vicinity of Wyocena and waged a pitched battle with a combined force of white soldiers and Menominee Indians, in which many of the Winnebago were killed. Can you afford any information as to the truth of this tradition?

W. C. English, *Wyocena*
President, Wisconsin Supervising Teachers' Association

We can find no evidence of a battle in your vicinity during the Black Hawk War; the detailed report of the commander of the Menominee giving every incident of his march from Butte des Morts to the portage seems to preclude the possibility of such hostilities having occurred. They could not have taken place without his knowledge, and he must have reported them to his superior had they occurred.

If you wish we can send you the report to which we allude: that of S. C. Stambaugh to George Boyd, dated "Camp Kinzey, Ouisconsin Portage—Aug. 2d, 1832."

Thank you very much for looking up the facts in regard to the tradition of the battle having been fought in this vicinity in early times. You seem effectively to have disposed of the theory that it happened during the Black Hawk War, but is there not a possibility that it might have happened at an earlier date, say during Red Bird's uprising, when Major Whistler's force was sent up the Fox? If you would kindly look up the matter I should be very glad indeed to have you do so.

W. C. English,
Wyocena

The facts concerning the Winnebago War and Major Whistler's expedition are as negative as those of 1832. We have excellent descriptions, especially full, by Thomas L. McKenney, commissioner of Indian Affairs, who accompanied the expedition. I say "descriptions," for his published one is in the *Memoirs* (Phila., 1845) from which the extract in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, V, is taken; and there is also his government report found in the manuscripts at Washington.

If the Wyocena tradition has a basis in fact, it must go still further back to the days of Winnebago hostility to the Americans between 1816 and 1825. There were one or two attacks by the Winnebago on bodies of troops passing across the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, but we never have seen any account of a massacre. If you will

write out the tradition as it is locally understood, we will file it fo reference and will let you know when, or if, we find anything.

WISCONSIN AND NULLIFICATION

We have heard that at one time in the early history of Wisconsin th state seceded from the Union. Is there any truth in the statement an if so will you please send us information about it?

ETHEL BUCKMASTER,
Milwaukee

It is not true that Wisconsin ever seceded from the Union. As frontier state of aggressive democracy, she occasionally insisted o "state's rights" in such emphatic terms that her attitude might hav been construed as a defiance of the federal government, but none suc was ever seriously contemplated. For example, when a territor Wisconsin demanded of Congress to restore the "ancient boundaries" of the territory and threatened if it were not done to declare hersel "a state without the Union." This was no more than political bun combe and no attention was paid to it by either the federal govern ment or successive territorial and state governments. During th excitement over the Fugitive Slave Law Wisconsin in a more seriou and official manner defied the decrees of the federal courts and electe a member of the state supreme court on the platform of "state' rights." The legislature also in 1859 passed a nullifying resolutio because of its abhorrence of the slavery power controlling the federa government. You will find a good brief account of the entire episod in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1895, pp. 117-44 This volume you can find in the Milwaukee Public Library.

INDIAN FOLKLORE OF WISCONSIN

It occurs to me that this paper could advantageously use a series o stories selected from the folklore of the Indians who formerly occupie the territory comprising this state. The writer recently came across number of interesting stories on the Zuni in a report of the Smithsonia Institution, tales with such titles as "How the Moon Got a Dirty Face," etc

There is a great demand for stories to "tell the children," and it is m thought that in your library there might perhaps be such material as coul

be turned to this use. Will you not kindly let me know whether you have any matter that would furnish folk tales of Wisconsin Indians?

KENNETH M. ELLIS
Feature Editor, Milwaukee *Sentinel*

The folklore of the Indians who formerly occupied this state can be found in many printed volumes, and we would suggest that you consult the Milwaukee Public Library. I am appending a brief list of those you would find helpful.

Katharine B. Judson, *Myths and Legends of the Great Plains* (Chicago: McClurg, 1913)

Katharine B. Judson, *Myths and Legends of the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes* (Chicago: McClurg, 1914)

Mrs. M. B. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux* (Bismarck, N. Dak.: 1916)

George Copway, *History of the Ojibway Nation* (New York, 1851)

Consult also the volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections.* Volume XXI of this series is an analytical index of the first twenty volumes, and by consulting it you will find what a wealth of material there is on the subject in which you are interested. The publications of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and the reports and bulletins of the United States Bureau of Ethnology you will find contain a great deal of material.

We feel quite certain that you will be able to find material for a series of stories quite as interesting as anything written about the Zuni. If we can be of further assistance we shall be glad to do whatever is in our power.

INDIAN NAMES FOR A FARM

If possible will you send me Indian translations of the names given below? I desire to register the name of my farm but want to use the Indian name for it: Pleasant Hill; Maple Knob; Face to the North; Devil River; Clover Blossom.

Also, can you give me names of noted Indian chiefs prominent in the early history of Brown County? We are located about eight miles south of De Pere, and possibly some of the early history will touch on this particular section of the county.

E. J. BRITTNACHER
Greenleaf

Your country was the early and much-loved land of the Menominee Indians. They resigned it to the United States government very regretfully by the Treaty of 1832. The Menominee were poor and wanted the annuity the government promised them for their lands, so they accepted the offer and parted with their claims south of the Fox River. They had several villages before that on the south bank of the Fox where such chiefs as Carron, I-om-é-tah, Glode, Wee-kah, Pe-wau-te-not, and others lived and hunted south and east. Some other chiefs of the early day were: Wau-pe-se′-pin (Wild Potato); Keshena (the Swift Flying One); Show-né-on (Silver); Wau-pa-men (Standing Corn); O-sau-wish-ke-no (Yellow Bird); and Ka-cha-ka-wa-she-ka the Notch-maker).

As for the names you suggest it is hard to give the Menominee equivalents. They did not combine, as we do, such terms as "Pleasant Hill," "Maple Knob." The hard maple was She-shi-kima; and the soft maple Ship-i-a-sho-pom-aq′-ti-ki. Clover blossom was Nessobagak. Devil River was Manitou Sibi.

WISCONSIN AS A PLAYGROUND

I am planning a number of articles on Wisconsin as a tourist state. In the meantime I am collecting photographs and data which may be of service in preparing an article. I have made arrangements with Mr. W. O. Hotchkiss, the state geologist, to spend six weeks in the state this summer, accompanied by an expert photographer, with a view to getting a collection of high type photographs of the beauty spots of Wisconsin, and incidentally some of the historic spots. One of the facts that attracts tourists is that of historic association. Wisconsin is rich in these, but to the average man the facts are unknown.

In connection with this I have at times heard it stated that the federal authorities were impelled to locate the Oneida and Stockbridge Indians in this state because they regarded it as a great playground and hunting ground. This thought would fit in very well with a series of articles. Is there any basis for this statement, or is there anything of record in the proceedings of Congress or the departments to bear out this statement? If some such man as Webster or Clay made such a statement, it certainly would fit in well in opening up a discussion of "Wisconsin, the Playground of the Middle West."

Any information that you may be able to give me will be greatly appreciated.

F. A. Cannon, *Madison*
Executive Secretary, Good Roads Association

We are sorry not to be able to find you just the quotation that you can use effectively for your purpose. The truth is the men of one hundred years ago seldom thought of land in terms of a "playground," and would never have used such a term. A movement was on foot in 1818 and 1819 to make Wisconsin a permanent Indian reserve, removed from the deleterious influence of white men and their grog shops. Calhoun, then secretary of war, favored such a plan, by which Wisconsin would be in perpetuity an Indian land. In 1820 he sent the Reverend Jedediah Morse (father of the inventor of telegraphy) to visit the West and make a report upon some such plan. Mr. Morse went all through the Northwest and was much in favor of Calhoun's plan, considering the region west of Lake Michigan adapted to a "suitably prepared portion of our country" upon which the Indians of New York State might live in peace and might be gradually taught the arts of civilization. Some of the statesmen of this time went so far as to favor an exclusive Indian territory that might in time be raised to the rank of a state. Pursuant to this policy, the Stockbridge and Oneida, with the small remnants of the Brotherton and Munsee tribes, made treaties with the Wisconsin tribesmen, the Menominee and Winnebago, and prepared for removal, which was eventually effected after many difficulties. A decade or more later the government pursued a different policy, and by the treaties of 1832 after the Black Hawk War, that of 1833 at Chicago, and that of 1836 at Cedar Point purchased all of southern Wisconsin and threw it open to white settlement.

THE SIOUX WAR OF 1862

I am writing to ascertain what material you have on the Sioux Indian War of 1862 in Minnesota.

I want the most detailed information I can get, particularly the names of the individuals who were killed and taken prisoner by the Indians. Also, if possible, information regarding the provisions made by Congress and the state of Minnesota, if any, for the relief of the survivors, and for those whose property was taken or destroyed by the Indians.

Please let me know, also, what provision you make, if any, for the loan of the publications.

G. M. Sheldon
Tomahawk

The most available material about the Sioux War of 1862 is found in the *Collections* of the several historical societies of the Northwest, particularly the Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota societies. In this connection we note: Minnesota *Historical Collections*, VI, 354-408; IX, 395-449; X, 595-618; XII, 513-30; XV, 323-78. North Dakota *Historical Collections*, I, 412-29. South Dakota *Historical Collections*, II, chapters 25-30; VIII, 100-588. This latter gives the official correspondence.

Among secondary writers are: Edward D. Neill, *History of Minnesota* (4th edition, Minneapolis, 1882), 716-37; Judge Charles E. Flandrau, *History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier* (St. Paul, 1900), 135-87. Frank Fiske, *The Taming of the Sioux* (Bismarck, 1917) is said to have some good material on this war.

So far as we can ascertain by a brief research no provision has been made either by Congress or by the state of Minnesota for relief and indemnity, except in specific cases as, for instance, the widows of friendly Indians who saved many whites (see United States Documents, serial 2674, doc. 3976, *Message of Governor of Minnesota*, 1871). The adjutant general of Minnesota had charge of soldiers' bounties and pensions. Probably the present incumbent can tell you what, if any, provision has been made for such relief.

We have in the manuscript division of the Library a document entitled "Victims of the Indian Massacre of 1862 in Minnesota," which contains specific lists of names of victims, dates and places of occurrences, etc. The manuscript comprises seven typewritten pages, the whole compiled by Marion P. Satterlee for the Minnesota Historical Society. So far as I know, it is the only thing in existence which would answer approximately your desire for names of victims, etc. It can be copied for you at your expense, should you care to order this done.

Many of the volumes in the State Historical Library are subject to loan over the state, but a large proportion of its contents is not. You would doubtless find, if you are pursuing any exhaustive investigation, that the only satisfactory way to do it would be to come to the Library. In so far as we are able to do so, we will be glad to accommodate you by sending works which you may desire to use to your local library.

EARLY MISSIONS ON MENOMINEE RIVER

I am trying to find the date of the founding of the first Catholic mission on the Menominee River. I know the locality, at Mission Point, Marinette, Wisconsin, but I can find no tradition here as to date of founding or name of the priest who founded it. I thought the papers of the late Lewis S. Patrick of Marinette might contain some information on these points. Will you kindly tell me how to go about getting this? I think all of Mr. Patrick's historical papers were turned over to the State Historical Society.

I will be very grateful for any information on the subject.

JOSEPHINE SAWYER
Menominee, Michigan

The earliest Catholic mission on the Menominee River was begun in 1670 by Father Claude Allouez. The mission was named St. Michael, and was maintained for several years and ministered to by Father Louis André. The accounts of this mission are to be found in *Jesuit Relations* (R. G. Thwaites, editor), LIV, 235; LV, 103; LVI, 125; LVIII, 273-81; LXI, 153-55. The exact site of this mission can never be known, as it was abandoned over two hundred years ago. The "Mission Point" which you mention was the site of an early Methodist mission. In Mr. Patrick's papers there is the following statement concerning it: "The Methodist mission house was located near the site of the machine shop of the N. Ludington Company. It was built about 1833 by Rev. John Clark who was missionary for all the territory from Lake Superior to Chicago. He worked there with the Indians until about 1836, when ill success made him discontinue his mission. There was a house that was never finished and a blacksmith shop. The house was sold in 1839 to Samuel Farnesworth who moved it nearly opposite the Marquette flour mill, and occupied it as his residence."

EARLY TRAILS AND HIGHWAYS OF WISCONSIN

The National Association of the Daughters of the American Revolution has a committee, of which I am the member for Wisconsin, to establish the lines of early trails and roads in the United States. I am, therefore, interested in planning an active campaign among the several local chapters of the state looking to the location, and ultimately to the marking of some of the more important early trail and highway routes of Wisconsin. Can you give me any suggestions which may be of value in this connection?

MRS. G. W. DEXHEIMER
Fort Atkinson

It seems to us it would be well not to undertake too many trails at first, but to have a definite program for two or three, and perhaps for marking the two great military roads, one in the southern and the other in the northern portion of the state. For instance: suppose you attempt to locate the Chicago-Green Bay trail (from the state boundary). If you carefully consult the accounts of early travelers and mail riders in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* you can get the main lines in Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and Brown counties. We recommend these references: *Collections*, IV, 282; VII, 239; XI, 229; XV, 453. Then take one cross-state trail from Milwaukee to Rock River and the lead mines. On this see *Collections*, VI, 139, and other references; also consult *Wau Bun*.

The old military road from Fort Howard to Fort Winnebago was the earliest road in the territory. It was continued along the military ridge in Iowa and Grant counties to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Some progress has been made in studying its route through Dane County. The northern military road was built much later, between 1866 and 1871; it ran from Fort Howard northwestward, and was built by a grant of land.

If you can make a start in locating these trails and roads you will do good service for Wisconsin history. The old maps of early Wisconsin that we keep at the Library will be valuable to you in the study of these trails.

EARLY HISTORY OF WEST POINT

I would like to know anything of historical interest attaching to West Point on the western shore of Lake Mendota. I would particularly like information concerning the traders St. Cyr and Rowan, who are said to have been located here at an early day.

H. S. Stafford
Madison

So far as is known the earliest permanent habitation upon the Madison lakes was a small cabin built upon the northwest shore of Fourth Lake some time after 1829. In that year Judge James D. Doty and Morgan L. Martin crossed the country on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. They took a trail from Green Lake that brought them to the Four Lakes, and they found a few Winnebago Indians on the north shore of Lake Mendota, but no white

trader. Wallace Rowan was a Kentucky miner, who had migrated first to Indiana, and then drifted into the lead region sometime during the rush of 1827. He mined for a time about Platteville, but was not successful, so in some way he obtained a small outfit of Indian goods and came into Winnebago territory to trade. The small one-room log cabin he built on the shore of Fourth Lake about 1830 was used both as a dwelling and a trading house. No doubt he kept a liberal supply of whisky and tobacco, the chief articles of Indian trade, a few blankets, cloth by the yard, ribbons, and cheap ornaments. He bought the beaver and muskrat skins trapped by the Indians, dressed deerskins, and any skunk or mink furs that the Winnebago brought in. During the spring of 1832 the Sauk Indians went on the warpath and the Winnebago were very restless. Rowan thought it safer to abandon his cabin and retreated apparently to Blue Mound fort, where he was during the war. When Major Henry Dodge with Indian Agent Henry Gratiot came to hold a council with the Four Lakes Indians, May 26, 1832, Rowan's cabin was empty. Dodge brought with him a volunteer troop of horse recruited in the lead mines, and they camped near Rowan's cabin the night of May 25. The council was held the next day with the few chiefs who had come in. The chiefs present were Old Turtle, whose village was at Beloit, Spotted Arm, Little Black, and Silver. Man Eater, the chief of a village on Lake Koshkonong, was ill and sent his sister and daughter to represent him.

Little Black was the orator. He declared that the Winnebago were not conspiring with Black Hawk, but would keep their tomahawks buried, that the sky was clear above them, and that they would have nothing to do with the enemy Sauk. Dodge reminded them of their treaty with their Great Father, the President, and all his white children, threatened to cut off their annuity if they failed to keep the treaty, and left them in a humbled frame of mind. Nevertheless, within a few days, one or two of the garrison who ventured out of the Blue Mound fort were murdered, and it was believed to be the deed of the Winnebago.

The war was over by August. That autumn the Winnebago were forced to cede all their lands south of the Wisconsin River and to promise to remove the next year. Rowan sold out his small post to

a half-breed Winnebago, Michel St. Cyr, who occupied the cabin in the autumn of 1832 with his Winnebago squaw and family. St. Cyr was here for five years. He seems to have been a kindly, pleasant-tempered man, as most French-Canadians were. His squaw kept the cabin cleaner than Mrs. Rowan had done, and it became a kind of tavern for white adventurers to the Four Lakes.

In 1833 Dodge sent two companies of United States Rangers, which were enlisted that spring, to see that the Winnebago kept their word and removed. They were very loath to go and made every sort of plea and excuse. Their agent, Gratiot, begged the government to let them stay one more year to gather a harvest, but the authorities were inexorable, and the Indians had to go. The troopers had several wagons, and would round up the little groups and transport them from the head of Fourth Lake to the Wisconsin River, probably down the Black Earth valley. It is said they slipped back again as soon as the soldiers' backs were turned, but their permanent villages were broken up. The troops camped at a big spring which they called Belle Fontaine, probably the one now known as Livesey's Springs.

St. Cyr remained on the spot until 1837; the surveyors who during the winter of 1836-37 laid out the capital stayed at his house. In July, 1836 Colonel William B. Slaughter of Virginia came to the Four Lakes and offered St. Cyr a couple of hundred dollars for his improvement, on the site of which he laid out the City of the Four Lakes. The plat is in the land office at the capitol. The streets were named for the territorial officers—Dodge, Horner, Jones, Dunn, Frazer, Chapman, and Gehon. The avenues were entitled for the states—New York, Virginia, Illinois, etc. Several houses were built, and lots were sold in the East. A university was planned; perhaps it was hoped to secure the territorial university for the site. Colonel Slaughter lived at this place for several years. The land afterwards passed into the possession of James Livesey, who lived there until a comparatively recent time.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

A WOMAN "Y" WORKER'S EXPERIENCES[1]

352nd Inf., 88th Div.,
RIBEAUCOURT, FRANCE,
April 23, 1919.

MY DEAR MRS. WEEK:

I have tried so many times to steal a few minutes for a letter to you but I have scarcely had time for my letters to the family and they even have been few and far between. You were so wonderfully kind to me before I left Stevens Point and I intended to write just as soon as I was located as a further evidence of my appreciation but the days were so very full and at night I was so tired I couldn't even think. People did so many nice things for me before I left and I just wish they knew how much the thought of that helps me over here when things are hard as of course they are sometimes.

After two months in Germany with the Army of Occupation (attached to the Rainbow Div.) I am back in France. While there I was stationed in Ahrweiler [Ahrweller], a quaint little old town which was surrounded by a high wall and moat and approached by four large gate-ways. A girl from New York City and myself had charge of the work there which consisted of a theater and wet canteen, dry canteen and reading room, also a small officers' club. When the Division returned to the states I went to Paris for reassignment and asked to be sent into the Toul Area that I might see more of the front. I had already seen the Pont-a-Mousson region about Metz and had been in Nancy which had been shelled.

I reported in Toul for definite assignment and was attached to the 88th Div. 352nd Infantry. While I was in Toul I had the opportunity I had been looking for, that of making a tour of at least a part of the front where the worst fighting occurred.

We went first to St. Mihiel which the Germans took early in the war and occupied until driven out by the Americans in the big St.

[1] Letter written by Sara E. Buck, Y. M. C. A., 12 Rue d' Aguesseau, Paris, to Mrs. Nelson A. Week, Stevens Point, Wisconsin.

Mihiel drive in which so many of our boys lost their lives. There is scarcely a building in the town left intact. From there we went to Verdun and it just made my heart sick to see village after village absolutely levelled, not a wall left standing. It is just impossible to describe the awful devastation.

Of Verdun which was quite a city there is nothing left. The "Y" operates a big place for the benefit of the few American troops stationed there, mostly labor battalions, grave registration units. These men locate the scattered graves and move the bodies to the cemeteries which the Gov't is preparing to receive them, in which they are placed in long trenches as close together as possible. The fields all about this part of the country are dotted with the little crosses of American graves and so often we saw them right by the roadside where a soldier had been hurriedly buried where he fell.

In many places the work of filling in the trenches has begun and one can trace them for miles by the new earth. Much of the barbed wire entanglement still remains, also the camouflage along the roads. This consists of heavy wire netting from post to post in which boughs of trees are fastened to conceal the road from the view of the enemy. It was a wonderful trip and I came back realizing all too well what war meant but I wouldn't take anything for that one day's experience.

I went from Toul to Gondrecourt and as I knew that Lyman Park was located somewhere near there, for he had written me while I was in Germany, I inquired and discovered that he was but a short distance away. Gov. Morgan, our Divisional Sec'y, was kind enough to offer to take me out there when I told him and I found the whole battery from home in the most horrible little old mud hole I had seen in France. Of course the boys were all glad to see me and as they were leaving the next day on the first lap of their journey home I went to Mauvage the entraining point and stood in the mud to my ankles in the rain and gave them hot coffee, waited until the train pulled out, waved them good-bye, then had the very first spell of home-sickness I have had since leaving the states.

The next day I came out here to Ribeaucourt and found it an exact replica of the little place in which our battery was stationed. It is just the sort of a place though where the "Y" is badly needed for

there is just nothing here for the boys outside of that. Most of them are billetted in stables, some in the lofts and some right down with the horses and cows. There is but one street in the village, the houses are built right on the street, no yard nor sidewalk and wherever there is a vacant space, a manure pile. That is the way I find my way home at night. Sometimes it is very, very dark but I know I must pass just so many smells before I reach my palatial abode which is, of course, the best that the village affords, I being the only American woman here. To enter the house I have to pass through the stable but that is a small matter. My room is the funniest thing you ever saw; the bed is a cupboard in the wall and there are three huge feather beds on it so that I have to stand on a chair in order to get into it. In the daytime the doors to the cupboard are closed and no bed visible. There is no light of course but candles and by way of a bric a brac the madame's pet dog recently deceased and stuffed lies curled up gruesomely natural on the table.

The family lives in one room in which there are two cupboard beds, a dining room table and huge fireplace which not only furnishes all the heat but serves as kitchen stove. All the meals are cooked here in one small kettle and consist of a piece of meat and anything else which they can go out in the back yard and pull out of the ground.

Our hut is quite large, wooden tables and benches, dirt floor but never-the-less quite attractive. It should be five times as large as it is to accommodate all the boys. We serve coffee, cocoa, doughnuts, cookies or sandwiches every afternoon and evening. Last Saturday I made seven hundred and fifty doughnuts, quite an undertaking considering the fact that I had never made doughnuts before in my life but it is quite surprising what one can do when one must.

We had a nice service here Easter in our hut. I sang here in the morning then drove thirty kilometres to Bonnet and sang there in the evening.

Of course there are many, many disadvantages about living the way I have to here but the boys are so appreciative of everything that is done for them and being the only American girl here I get to know them so well and we feel just like one big family. There are many places in "Y" work much more desirable from the standpoint of personal comfort but none where there are such big returns in

personal satisfaction as right here in a filthy mud hole like Ribeau court. Most of the boys here hadn't seen an American girl for fiv months as they never had a "Y" worker with them and they wer perfectly wild the first day I came. To go to bed at night feeling tha you have made a place like this more livable for hundreds of men tha day more than pays for every effort you have made.

* * *

Very sincerely,
SARA E. BUCK.

THE PANIC AT WASHINGTON AFTER THE FIRING O FORT SUMTER[1]

WASHINGTON April 18th 1861

MY DEAR WIFE & CHILDREN

It is among possibilities that this sheet may bear my last words t you. I have about one hour in [which] to write, and get my suppe and meet an engagement with our Wisconsin friends now in Washing ton. The letter I mailed to you today I fear was couched in too muc confidence. The slip which I here enclose, cut from this afternoon paper will give you something of an idea as to what is aprehended About an hour ago Genl King met some of us and took 20 names o Wisconsin men who pledge themselves to stand ready for any emer gency tonight. We shall be supplied with Carbine and Revolver This slip does not convey the deep fears entertained. The City is i a very critical condition. Many believe that an attack will be mad tonight, I greatly fear it and pray no such Calamity to befall us

The question is not whether this or that political party shal triumph but whether this govt shall be overthrown.

The precious liberties which [we] have enjoyed, guaranteed to u by the constitution of which we have so much bosted on is in peril The flag of our country is to be stricken down More than this th most prosperous nation that ever existed—The best govt ever know

[1] This letter, copied from the original in the State Historical Library, wa written by Andrew B. Jackson, a Wisconsin man who was in Washington at th time Fort Sumter fell, making arrangements concerning his appointment to th land office at Menasha. Jackson was an able man and had served as a membe of Wisconsin's second constitutional convention of 1847-48.

is to be overthrown—overthrown at the cost of the blood and treasure of the Nation

A little distance from where I write hangs the Immortal declaration of Independence. Some of the signatures are almost obliterated; but that only adds to its veneration, and immortal value. Glorious instrument,—Glorious names attest thy truths, Glorious recollections press upon us while we reflect at what cost thy immortal principles [have] been maintained. Look at Bunker Hill, the base of that Monument is semented in blood. I might go over New England N. Y. N. J. and in fact the old thirteen states, whose soil has been saturated with the blood of our Fathers, whose watercourses have crimsoned from their veins. I might go to the graves of those who pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honors in defence of the liberty bequeathed to us, and while I say peace to their ashes, I would inquire in the name of my God and my country shall these principles [be] trampled in the dust? Shall we before the nation is a hundred years old, see it disgraced in the eyes of the world and destroyed? Forbid it Almighty God.

My Dear Wife I shall not be reckless, yet if necessary I believe [it] a duty I owe to God and the country to do what little I am able to prevent such a calamity

The bell calls me [to] supper I may have time this evening to add something.

Affectionate Your
Husband & Father
Andrew B. Jackson

8 O Cl evening Since writing the above about 100 troops came in on the cars from Penn. More are expected to night. We feel easier. If we get a good many troops into Washington the secessionists will hardly dare attack us. The excitement never has run so high as it does to night. Some families and a good many women left to day out of fear Judge Potter did not get away to day but thinks he shall in the morning We shall meet, but whether we shall stay up to night is not yet determined, there are about 1000 troops in the Capitol to night, those that came in went there to stay for the night.

Unless something new shall transpire I shall not write again till Saturday. God bless and protect us. It [is] a consolation for me to

say that my faith and abiding confidence in him was never greater than since I have been in Washington
I am called away

A. B. J.

RED TAPE AT WASHINGTON IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS

The mind of the bureaucrat is as constant as the granite hills of New England, and the ways of red tape change not from generation unto generation. The letter which follows affords an interesting illustration of the workings of red tape in the days of our grandfathers. For the rest, it offers some comment on the problems before the second constitutional convention, of which Morgan L. Martin, recipient of the letter, was president. The writer, Philo White, was a man of consequence in his day, who played a prominent rôle in the upbuilding of early Wisconsin. White began and ended his career at Whitestown, New York. After a considerable career in New York, his health failing, he secured an appointment as naval storekeeper on the Pacific station. Several years later he established a paper at Raleigh, North Carolina, was soon elected state printer, and for a time was an active figure in state politics. Failing health caused another removal, this time to infant Wisconsin in the summer of 1836. Here White played an interesting part in the founding of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and built the United States Hotel block, at the time the most imposing building in the city. Removing to Racine he became owner and editor of the *Advocate*, managed several farms, served in the territorial council of 1847 and 1848, and in the senate of the newly-admitted state. Both in his home community and at Madison his ability and leadership in public affairs gained full recognition. He left Wisconsin in 1849 to become consul general at the free cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Altona; later he served as minister to Ecuador for several years. On returning to the United States in 1858 he made his home at Whitestown, his native place.

HONBL. MORGAN L. MARTIN: RACINE, 8th Jan'y, 1848.

DEAR SIR:

I really don't recollect whether I have had the honor of addressing you at Madison yet, for I have been so absorbed in other matters,—in correspondence with the Departments at Washington,

trying to *persuade* them to come to a *final* adjustment of some old suspended items in my accounts, which they think it requires the sanction of Congress to authorize them to settle, although they acknowledge the *justice* of them, &c: The *amount* is really hardly worth the *postage* on the correspondence that will take place in relation to the items, as it becomes requisite to transmit to and fro some tolerably heavy vouchers. But the *principle* on which these small *matters* are made to operate to my prejudice, are so monstrous, that I am almost disposed to go into Congress in search of justice: Let me name one or two cases: While attached to the Pacific Squadron, Com^re^ Thos. Ap. Catesby Jones[1], he sent Lieut. Griffith home in our ship, the "Dale," giving me a written order to pay the Lieutenant $200 *advance,* to meet his expenditures home; we took him from Lima to Panama, from thence he went to Chagres by land, and in an English vessel from Chagres to Jamaica, where he died of fever. That $200 they have checked against me, because Lieut. Griffith died before he worked out the amount, and somebody, they say, must lose the overpayment. Had I refused the order of Com. Jones, he would have arrested me, and sent *me* home: And moreover, I made the payment under protest, as required by the regulations of the Navy Department. It is very provoking; and I thought at one time I would go immediately on, and get consoled by abusing the accounting officers to their faces: But I am now giving them some plain talk by corresp^ce^.

Another case is this: A law of Congress allows "all persons belonging to the Navy," one fourth more pay in cases where those "persons" are detained on board a vessel of war on a foreign station after their term of service shall have expired. Well about 1/3^d^ of the crew of the Dale's term of service expired while we were yet in the Pacific; and from the date of the expirations of service of every "person" on board, I credited them with 1/4^th^ more pay until we arrived in the U. S; and they were paid off and discharged: But the Acct'g. Officers, in their *wisdom,* decided that the *"Marines,"* who made part of our complement, did "not belong to the Navy"! And they checked all I thus paid to those Marines whose terms had expired, against *me!* I understand, however, the Att'y. Gen'l. has decided against them in this matter. I think yet, I may go on to Washington, after the adjournment of the Legislature.

Allow me to congratulate you, on your elevation to the Presidency of the Convention, a post which your talents and experience qualify you so well to fill, and in which your firmness and decision give dignity to the proceedings of the body, and contribute largely to the despatch of business.

I am gratified to see that you succeeded in carrying an amendment, which acknowledges the *principle* of *Exemptions*: It is a "progressive"

[1] Thomas ap Catesby Jones was a native of Virginia, born in 1789, who devoted his life to the naval service. In 1814 he made a brave defense of New Orleans against an overwhelming British naval force, surrendering only when he was desperately wounded and hope of escape was cut off. He was given command of the Pacific station off California in 1840, and learning on what he supposed to be good authority that the United States was at war with Mexico, he took possession of Monterey. For this he was temporarily suspended. He died at Georgetown, D. C., 1858.

principle, and we should have been behind the age had we "shirk'd" it in the Constitution.

I am really in hopes you will succeed in presenting us such a charter of our rights, as will secure the sanction of the Democracy, at least. I think there is a disposition to accept the *next* Constitution: The recent explosion in *several* of the Pennsylvania Banks, &c. ought at least to reconcile the whigs to tolerably stringent restrictions upon banking in Wisconsin: I trust those explosions will have a salutary influence on the minds of the Delegates, when they come to act on the bank Article.

We are *astir* in regard to a *Plank Road* hence to the West; I am making a long report in regard to their utility, &c to present to a meeting here on Friday next,—and expect to be instructed to procure a charter at our next session, &c. &c.

I should be obliged to you for one of King's Census Statements, should a spare one fall in your way.

Mrs. White joins me in regards to yourself and family, should Mrs Martin be with you.

Very truly your friend
And obt serv't,
PHILO WHITE

COMMUNICATIONS

SOME CORRECTIONS

As the engineer has a fondness for accuracy of detail, often to the burden of his nonengineering friends, I therefore have some hesitation in calling attention to the following in the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, which may be mere engineering minutiæ and of no interest to the historian:

> Vol. II of No. 3, pp. 263, 264, quoting from p. 264: "* * * the enabling act for Wisconsin in 1846 fixed its southern line at 42°30′."

Quite true, but due to errors in the survey the boundary is not on 42°30′, the boundary line crossing this parallel about south of Brodhead.

> Vol. II. No. 4, p. 452: "* * * built in the style of the famous *Merrimac* which had been sunk two years before in the duel with the *Monitor* which revolutionized the art of naval warfare."

Lieutenant Catesby ApR. Jones, who commanded the *Merrimac* in the *Monitor* battle, testified later before a naval court of inquiry that the *Merrimac* should have been sunk in fifteen minutes. As a matter of fact, the *Merrimac* was practically uninjured in this battle and was blown up over two months later by order of its commander, Captain Josiah Tatnall. The last part of the quotation, however, is absolutely correct, for the *Monitor*, a creation of inspired genius, revolutionized naval construction, Captain Ericsson's second revolution in this art, the first having been embodied in the *Princeton* of the early eighteen forties.

Yours very truly,
JOHN G. D. MACK, *Madison*
State Chief Engineer

EARLY RACINE AND JUDGE PRYOR

A letter to me in your care forwarded me, speaks of the fact that "Racine" is the only French name on the map of southern Wisconsin as against so frequent French names elsewhere in the states of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, settled by the Jesuit missionaries, as confirming that suggestion that it was the translation of "Root" the river, rather than that Root the river was an English translation of Racine the town. This, it suggests, might have been because the southern portion of the state was the most conveniently reached by American pioneers who flocked to the new state, whereas under French occupation the regnal parts of the state were northwardly from Lake Superior and Green Bay south to Prairie du Chien where the Wisconsin debouches into the Mississippi. And it goes on to say that "Milwaukee" not being an Indian name, might, in the same rude speech, have been what somebody who saw a steamboat for the first time said was "a mill walking!" As to this latter I remember to have heard it in my Racine days, but only repeated to laugh at. Though, now I think of it again, I do recall seeing somewhere a statement that the first steamboat ever launched upon the Great Lakes was launched at Detroit in 1818 and called "Walk-In-The-Water." This you would no doubt be able to verify if true. But of course the Parkman Club has all this, and has somewhere made it all of record. And speaking of the Parkman Club reminds me of Mr. Wight to whom I shall shortly write to thank him for all this pleasant correspondence and for introduction to your beautifully printed and wonderfully fascinating WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY.

I found manifold matter besides my own to interest me in the June issue. Strange to tell I knew both Potter and Pryor of bowie-knife fame.[1] John F. Potter I remember as a thick-set gentleman, who wore a full beard and mustache trimmed to the contour of his face and jaw—much such a looking man as was Grant when president, and to the end of his days in this city, when I saw him often at No. 1 Broadway. As it was more the custom in those days to wear the beard flowing, it made an impression on my childish memory.

[1] The reference is to "The Potter-Pryor Duel," *ibid.*, 449-52.

At the Colonial Club in this city I used to have long talks with Judge Pryor running over his marvellously eventful career (though I was always careful *not* to allude to Mr. Potter). The Judge looked like an Indian with high cheek bones, gaunt features, and long, very coarse, and jet black hair. Indeed he claimed—though I never heard him say so—descent from Pocahontas—left handedly, if at all, or perhaps it was from Powhatan properly. The Judge told me that he did not fire the first gun at Sumter because Virginia had not yet seceded and it would have been high treason to fire on what was at that time his country's flag, although he was rather proud to relate that he incited the state of South Carolina to fire on Sumter by coming down from Richmond for that purpose and telling them that nothing else would induce Virginia to secede. He did go in the boat to demand the surrender and got it. He was selected for hanging by Stanton and was imprisoned in Fort Lafayette in our harbor instead by Lincoln, but he became a justice of our New York Supreme Court and left a distinguished record behind him. When Jeff Davis, who did not love him, finessed him out of his brigadier-generalship by turning over his brigade to General Wise, Pryor enlisted as a private and was captured at Brandy Station. Some say he walked out of the ranks and surrendered himself to our lines there, to escape persecution by Davis. But as to this he never spoke and like the Potter episode I thought it wise not to lead up to it in our frequent talks.

Appleton Morgan
New York City

MORE LIGHT ON COLONEL UTLEY'S CONTEST WITH JUDGE ROBERTSON

I have been very greatly interested in Appleton Morgan's "Recollections of Early Racine," in the June, 1919 issue of the magazine. It is evident that Mr. Morgan had familiar personal knowledge of a great variety of events of much interest and importance in the early history of Racine, and with the actors concerned in them.

It is not strange that inaccuracies should creep into informal recollections of a time a half century and more gone, especially with relation to statements susceptible of verification or disproval only by

some research, and I venture to say that Mr. Morgan was mistaken in stating that Colonel Utley did not pay the judgment of $1,000 in favor of Justice Robertson of Kentucky, for taking the latter's slave out of that state in 1862. Attention was called in a footnote to the fact that I had given a different account of the matter, in my *Racine County Militant*, and I would like to offer briefly the evidence in support of my statements concerning it.

With reference to that story, permit me to say that the facts concerning this phase of the controversy of Colonel Utley with Justice Robertson were related to me by Mr. Park Wooster, a stepson of Colonel Utley, and I have verified them within the last month in conversation again with him. Mr. Wooster tells me that he has many times heard his stepfather, Colonel Utley, tell the story of the payment of that judgment and subsequent reimbursment by the Government.

Having known Mr. Wooster for more than forty years and having personal knowledge also of the intimate and affectionate relations sustained by Colonel Utley with his stepson through a long period of years until the former's death, I am frank to say that this testimony satisfies me.

Within the last month, however, I have read the entire court record in the case, which is on file in the office of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, at Milwaukee. It consists of a complete certified transcript of the Kentucky court proceedings, and also the record of those in the Wisconsin court named above, where the case was also tried.

Complaint was first filed in the Jessamine County Circuit Court, at Nicholasville, Kentucky, on November 17, 1862. A court order to Utley to deliver the slave to Robertson was placed in the hands of the sheriff for execution; on his return, on the back of the order, that officer reported that on December 10, 1862, he demanded the slave, Adam, of Wm. L. Utley, and that he failed to produce him.

From that time on the case was largely a matter of continuances, demurrers, motions to quash, writs of error, and other legal devices to gain time and discourage the plaintiff, until on October 6, 1871 judgment was entered in the Wisconsin court for $908.06 with costs of $26.40. This judgment was satisfied on May 9, 1873.

The attorneys in the case were Stark and McMullen for Robertson, and Bennett and Ullman for Utley. On October 5, 1871, however, Matt H. Carpenter appeared for Colonel Utley in the last court action, and filed a demurrer to replication, which was overruled by the court, and on the next day judgment was ordered for the plaintiff. I submit that the above evidence is sufficient to warrant belief in the substantial correctness of the account of the affair as given by me in *Racine County Militant*.

Sincerely yours,

E. W. Leach

Racine

GENERAL GRANT AT PLATTEVILLE

I was much interested in the report of J. H. Evans's recollections in the September number of the Magazine, since I lived as a boy in Platteville and knew Mr. Evans as far back as I can remember. He is either in error or misquoted, probably, on page 86 when he speaks of seeing Grant the last time in 1868, in Platteville. Grant made his last visit to Platteville in the fall of 1880, after his return from the trip around the world. Major Rountree invited him up to spend a day and some of us boys went down to the depot to see him come in on the narrow-gauge railroad recently constructed from Galena. Besides the Major and us boys there were very few citizens at the depot. But in the afternoon Major Rountree gave a public reception at his home—and we boys went skating instead of going to see the General again.

I think that on page 121 the Magazine should have referred to William E. Carter as of Platteville, rather than Lancaster. He was the leading lawyer of Platteville from the time of my earliest remembrance (the early '70s) until he removed to Milwaukee, in 1895. Of course, he may have lived in Lancaster earlier. George B. Carter was a near neighbor and his family and ours were intimate friends.

Very truly yours,

Albert H. Sanford

La Crosse

THE DRAPER MANUSCRIPTS

I want to express again my appreciation of the Wisconsin State Historical Society library. It is a truly wonderful institution—one that every American ought to know about and to be proud of.

The opportunity to use it, especially to consult the Draper Notes and Manuscripts, added immensely to the pleasure of my vacation, and if I live, will contribute materially toward a history of Callaway County, Missouri, that I hope will be real history.

I am grateful to you, to Miss ———, to her assistant, and to the fine corps of women at the library desk for many courtesies and helpful suggestions. May I ask you to express to them for me my appreciation?

Ovid Bell
Fulton, Missouri

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

In the three months' period ending October 10, 1919, seventeen persons became members of the State Historical Society. Four of these were life members, as follows: Henry Fetzer, Sturgeon Bay; William P. Gundry, Mineral Point; William H. Rueping, Fond du Lac; Arthur N. Blanchard, Shorewood.

The thirteen persons whose names follow joined the Society in the capacity of annual members: Col. William J. Anderson, Madison; Rev. R. A. Barnes, Madison; Thorwald M. Beck, Racine; Leslie M. Fowler, Racine; Austin F. Gratiot, Shullsburg; Elbert B. Hand, Racine; Edward Hutchens, Eau Claire; Thomas M. Kearney, Jr., Racine; Louis H. Rohr, Burlington; A. M. Simons, Milwaukee; Marietta Sisson, Chicago; Fulton Thompson, Racine; Mrs. Leslie Willson, Chippewa Falls.

Professor R. H. Whitbeck of the geography department of the University and a life member of the State Historical Society is preparing for publication in the state geological survey series a volume on the historical and geographical development of Racine, Kenosha, Milwaukee, Walworth, and Waukesha counties.

At the time of going to press (October 10) preparations for the annual meeting of the Society on October 23, 1919 are practically complete. The formal sessions will be the business meetings of the Society and the board of curators in the afternoon and the annual address in the evening. The speaker this year is Major General William G. Haan, during the late war commander of the Red Arrow Division. The subject of his address is "A Division Commander's Work for One Day of Battle."

The new management of the Madison *Wisconsin State Journal* is devoting much attention to local historical subjects. We note particularly in this connection a series of articles which is being printed over the name of David Atwood on the historical development of Madison.

At the annual meeting of the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held at Eau Claire in September, it

was unanimously voted to organize a Methodist Historical Society for the West Wisconsin Conference; a committee of five members was appointed to take the matter in charge. The chairman of the committee is J. H. McManus of Coloma, a member of the State Historical Society, who is deeply interested in the early history of our commonwealth. The Rev. Mr. McManus is the author of "A Forgotten Trail" in the present issue of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY."

On September 1, 1844 the first regular church service in America by an ordained Norwegian Lutheran preacher was conducted in a log barn three miles south of the village of Rockdale, Dane County, Wisconsin. On Sunday, September 7, 1919 the seventy-fifth anniversary of this event was jointly celebrated by the two Lutheran churches of East Koshkonong. The anniversary sermon was preached by President Preus of Luther College of Decorah. The site of this interesting event in Norwegian-American annals is marked by a monument erected on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, twenty-five years ago.

Another sign alike of the antiquity of Wisconsin and the interest taken by its founders in religious activities was afforded by the celebration on September 6 and 7, 1919 of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Union Grove Congregational Church. The church society was organized September 8, 1844. Until 1852 meetings were held in schoolhouses. In the year noted the first church building was erected, to be followed by a second in 1878.

By reason of inadequate support Racine College, one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in Wisconsin, has closed its doors and terminated its activities. The college was chartered by the state of Wisconsin in March, 1852. It has hundreds of alumni, many of them men of note, scattered throughout the country. Readers of this MAGAZINE will recall with pleasure in this connection the lively "Recollections of Early Racine," in the June, 1919 issue, written by Dr. Appleton Morgan, an alumnus of the college.

In the September, 1919 "Survey of Historical Activities" the death of Philo Orton of Darlington was noted, and in this connection the statement was erroneously made that he was the son of Judge Harlow Orton, one of the founders of the State Historical Society. To Major Frank W. Oakley of Madison, long a curator of this Society, we are indebted for the correction of this error. In this

connection we may say generally (by way of stating a fact rather than excusing an error) that for the contents of the Survey we rely upon varied sources of information which, oftentimes, we are unable adequately to check. It follows as a matter of course that the percentage of error in this section of the MAGAZINE is likely to be higher than its friends and readers might desire.

On September 5, 1919 the Waukesha County Historical Society held its semiannual meeting at North Lake. The beautiful afternoon brought out a fair attendance, notwithstanding the remoteness of the pretty village. President Charles D. Simonds pleaded for more members with such success that twelve new names were added to the society's roster. Custodian J. H. A. Lacher reported numerous and valuable additions to the society's historical collection, which has grown so large that more room ought to be provided for it at the courthouse. Miss Ida Sherman read a paper on the history of the town of Genesee. She was followed by Mrs. Ione Gove Hawley, whose interesting paper and talk treated of Waukesha County music and musicians. Both papers are valuable contributions to local history. The program included vocal music by Mrs. H. A. Erickson, and the singing of "America," the "Star Spangled Banner," and "Auld Lang Syne" by the audience.

Mrs. Elizabeth Rusk, wife of the former governor of Wisconsin, died at her Viroqua home, August 19, 1919. Mrs. Rusk was a native of Norway who came to America as a girl and in 1856 married Jeremiah Rusk. In earlier years Rusk, a native of Ohio, while employed as a stage driver had made the acquaintance of a boy-driver of a mule team on the canal, named James A. Garfield. Both rose to fame, but the career of Garfield need not detain us here. On coming to Wisconsin Rusk settled in Vernon County, opened a tavern, and drove stage between Viroqua and Prairie du Chien. He bore an active and honorable part in the Civil War, being mustered out at its close with the rank of brevet brigadier general. He served several terms in Congress, was three times elected governor of Wisconsin, and was the first United States secretary of agriculture.

Frederick Layton, one of Milwaukee's best known citizens, and long a member of the State Historical Society, died August 16, 1919. From humble beginnings he rose to be the millionaire head of an important meat packing business. He had long been noted for his philanthropic activities; worthy of particular mention in this connection is the Layton Art Gallery which he founded and to the upbuilding of whose collections he devoted constant interest and effort.

Charles E. Vroman of this Society, a native of Madison, an alumnus of the University, and long a prominent lawyer of Green Bay and Chicago, died at his summer home near Mackinac July 30, 1919. For several years Mr. Vroman served as assistant general counsel of the St. Paul Railway, resigning this position to establish the law firm of Vroman, Munro and Vroman.

Alexander Kerr, professor and emeritus professor of Greek at the University of Wisconsin since 1871, died at his home in Madison September 26, 1919. His later years were chiefly devoted to the translation of Plato's *Republic*. This work was brought to completion after eyesight had failed him, but in the opinion of competent scholars the work done under this handicap does not suffer by comparison with the earlier portion of the work.

One hundred years ago was born C. Latham Sholes, who by the invention of the typewriter placed a memorial to himself in every modern business office throughout the world. The movement to procure funds by popular subscription for the erection of a monument to Mr. Sholes in Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, has been previously noted in this Survey. According to a report of Charles E. Welles, secretary of the fund, made in July, 1919, satisfactory progress in raising the necessary money was being made. One-half of the total sum desired had been raised, chiefly through small contributions by business girls who thus testified their gratitude to Mr. Sholes for opening to them a field of employment for which women seem peculiarly adapted. The typewriter is distinctly a Wisconsin invention; and Mr. Sholes is one of her sons whom the Badger State can richly afford to honor.

Judge H. A. Anderson, chairman of the Trempealeau County War History Committee, reporting in August that the war history work had progressed well toward completion, added the following interesting information: "I declined a reëlection so that I might devote myself more exclusively to research work. My duties as judge end January next. I shall immediately upon expiration of my term begin to put into form such data as I have collected relating to the soldier history first, and then turn to my work on the county collection, as well as special fields. Who shall write the epic of the lumber camps and the river drivers? The facts are passing swiftly away. I should like to arrest a few of them before they glide too far into obscurity."

Among enterprises in the development of which Wisconsin leads the world is the distinctively American institution, the circus. P. T. Barnum was undoubtedly the king of American showmen (one of his most remarkable distinctions, we think, was achieved years after his death, when a prominent University professor delivered a lecture on his career as best typifying the American character), but his day is past; and just as undoubtedly the Ringling brothers of Baraboo dominate the American circus of the present generation. Barnum was a born genius—the Yankee at his best; the Ringling brothers are after all perhaps more typical of American character in that they have achieved the topmost rung of their profession by dint of unremitting toil and the exercise of plain common sense and not-so-common honesty, unaided by possession of unusual genius which despises ordinary rules of procedure. In the September, 1919 *American Magazine* John Ringling tells the life story of the seven brothers, who were born at McGregor, Iowa, just across the river from Wisconsin, and offers his explanation of the success they have achieved.

An attractively printed volume from the Collegiate Press of Menasha is Mary L. P. Smith's biography of Eben E. Rexford. Although a native of New York, Rexford's life from his seventh year was passed in Wisconsin; and he was thus in the fullest sense a product of the Badger State. Although his name may never stand high on the roll of American authors, he was a lovable character, and millions of plain men and women have read with enjoyment his stories and poems. His repute as author of standard works on gardening and floriculture was widespread. His most widely known work, doubtless, is the poem "Silver Threads Among the Gold," which, later set to music, made the circuit of the earth. Whatever critics of literature may think of it, this song has a human appeal which has touched the hearts of millions. It is said to be the favorite song of William J. Bryan, who is probably the best interpreter of the emotions of the ordinary American now living. Rexford wrote this poem at the early age of eighteen, and for it he received from *Frank Leslie's* the munificent sum of three dollars. The poet's home was at Shiocton, Wisconsin. His pen was busy until, in his final illness, he was removed to the hospital at Green Bay, where he died October 18, 1916.

Steamboating on the upper Mississippi is now a thing as dead as Caesar's ghost, but in earlier times the great river was a mighty highway of commerce, and it will be many a day before the romance of this traffic and of the lives of those who conducted it will lose its

power to charm the reader who turns his attention to the story o those adventurous days. A member of this Society, George B Merrick, long a resident of Madison but of old a Mississippi Rive pilot, has made himself the historian of the upper Mississippi in th period of its glory. His collection of records and his accumulate fund of information on his chosen subject are quite unrivaled; his book *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, stands alone in its particula field. Six years ago Mr. Merrick began publishing in the Burlingto *Saturday Evening Post* a series of articles describing the boats tha have plied the river above St. Louis commencing with the year 182 and short histories of the men who operated them. The author' plan was to present the boats alphabetically; he expected to complet the series in two years. It had been running five years, however, an was still uncompleted when in November, 1918 Mr. Merrick wa stricken with paralysis and incapacitated for continuing the work Some years earlier he had charged Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Pau with the completion of the enterprise should he himself be prevente from doing so. In September, therefore, Captain Bill spent tw weeks in Madison going over the work with Mr. Merrick. The lette *T* had been reached when the publication of the articles was discon tinued a year ago. From this point, with the aid of Mr. Merrick' material, Captain Bill will carry on the series. Although a younge man than Mr. Merrick, he commenced navigating the Mississippi i 1868 and was actively on the river until 1880; during the next twelv years he was in the office of the Diamond Jo Line of steamers a Dubuque and was indirectly connected with this line until its steamer were sold in 1911. Captain Bill is president of the Pioneer Rivermen' Association which he took the lead in organizing in 1915.

On Labor Day, September 1, 1919 the State Historical Society and the Wisconsin Archeological Society conducted a joint pilgrim age to the site of ancient Aztalan near Lake Mills. The earthwork and mounds at Aztalan have been regarded since the earliest settle ment of Wisconsin as among the most remarkable and interesting archeological remains in the upper Mississippi Valley. During th summer of 1919 the Milwaukee Public Museum carried on extensiv investigations with a view to discovering whatever may still be learne about the works at Aztalan. This work had been well advance toward completion by Labor Day, and thus those who joined in th pilgrimage were afforded the opportunity both of seeing the work o the scientists in actual progress and of hearing from Dr. S. A Barrett, chief of the division of anthropology of the Milwauke Museum, an authoritative account of the results thus far achieve

by the work of excavation. Nature had provided an ideal day for the outing; and it is doubtful whether in all Wisconsin can be found more beautiful pastoral scenery than that in the immediate vicinity of the earthworks. More than five hundred people responded to the invitation of the two societies, coming from Milwaukee, Madison, Baraboo, Fort Atkinson, Janesville, Cambridge, and numerous other points in southern Wisconsin. A basket luncheon was enjoyed under the trees, for which the residents of Lake Mills provided an unlimited supply of coffee and cream. After the lunch and the addresses, the assembled guests were conducted by Dr. Barrett and his aids in a tour of the mounds and other earthworks. The gratifying indication of public interest in the pilgrimage affords a happy augury for the success of similar gatherings in the future.

Most of our readers, probably, are acquainted with the story of Glory of the Morning, Wisconsin's Winnebago princess of two centuries ago, which has been woven into a charming play by Professor William Ellery Leonard. Daughter of the head chief of the Winnebago, she married a Frenchman, Sabrevoir Decorah, who had come into Wisconsin as a soldier but had resigned from the service and entered the Indian trade. After some years of married union, and the birth of two sons and a daughter, Decorah left his dusky wife, taking with him the daughter to Montreal to be educated. When the French and Indian War came on, Decorah reëntered the army and died fighting for his country in the battle of Ste. Foye in 1760. The two sons of Glory of the Morning, on the separation of their parents, cast in their lot with her and thus remained in Wisconsin. In time both became chiefs of the Winnebago and left many descendants, the Decorahs being the most powerful Winnebago family in the early nineteenth century. We recall these facts to our readers apropos of a press dispatch from La Crosse which states that thirty-five descendants of Glory of the Morning enlisted in the Mauston company in 1917 and crossed the sea to do their bit in curbing the German menace to America. To three of these red citizens of Wisconsin in particular an inspiring, albeit pathetic, story attaches. Bill and John Decorah were brothers who enlisted in the Mauston company. Their father, Foster Decorah, begged to enlist with them, but his forty years were against him and at first he was refused the coveted permission. Later, however, permission was granted, and father and sons crossed the sea together. Foster Decorah died a soldier's death in the Argonne Wood, while his sons continued to "carry on." Later Bill was killed and only John was left to return across the ocean to his native Wisconsin. For two centuries the

name of Decorah has loomed large in Wisconsin history, but the thirty-five descendants (doubtless there were others the record of whose ancestry is lost) of Glory of the Morning who fought for their country in the World War have attached to the ancestral name a new significance. Wisconsin's red men performed their full share in the war, and this record deserves to be held in grateful memory by the commonwealth and the country they served.

A journey of unusual interest fell to the lot of the writer of these notes in August. Mention has heretofore been made in the "Survey" of the acquisition of valuable newspaper and manuscript records of James Strang's Wisconsin Mormon colony, first at the sacred city of Voree from 1844 to about 1850, and then at Beaver Island in Lake Michigan until the overthrow of Strang and his colony in the summer of 1856. Mr. Wingfield Watson, a resident of Burlington and now in his ninety-second year, became an adherent of Strang in 1852 and still remains his steadfast follower. In company with Mr. Watson we visited Beaver Island to go over the scenes associated with the Strangite movement and secure whatever information might still be gleaned about the persons and events connected with it. The city of St. James, founded by King Strang and named in his honor, is now a prosperous community, the only village on the island. On Whisky Point, where the unregenerate fishermen had their rendezvous, and against which on a certain memorable occasion the balls from the Mormon cannon sped their way across the tiny harbor of St. James, a dignified lighthouse and light keeper's home now holds possession. Of the home of Strang but a few signs of the foundations still remain, while of the Mormon temple (which was never completed) no trace can be found. The dock on which King Strang was assassinated is represented now by a decayed structure of rotting logs, owned, according to local information, by someone in Philadelphia. The home of the royal press is still intact, being used now as a dwelling house. The King's Highway, which ran southward from St. James midway down the island, is still the one considerable highway on the island; although covered with gravel along much of its length the original corduroys still afford forcible reminder of their presence as one travels over them in the omnipresent Ford. The printing office and the highway aside, about the only reminders of the departed Mormon régime are the names given by its leader to the different places on the island. The village of St. James still carries the name of its founder, James J. Strang; Mount Pisgah, the highest sand knoll on the island, still testifies to the Mormon habit of associating the scenes of everyday life with those of Scriptural times;

while the pond wherein the Mormons were wont to conduct their baptisms for the dead is still known as Font Lake, although all knowledge of the significance of the name has faded from the local mind. The material structures reared by the Mormons have vanished, but the names they gave, intangible as light, give promise of persisting for untold generations yet to come.

On August 29, 1919 there died at Beaulieu, Minnesota, a native American whose earlier career was passed in an environment as different from that of his later life as though it had belonged to another age. May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, chief of the Mississippi bands of Chippewa Indians, was born ninety or more years ago in the vicinity of Brainerd, Minnesota, the eldest son of Quewezance, then leading chief of the Chippewa. The father was killed in battle with the Sioux near the site of modern Stillwater, and the son succeeded to his dignity and responsibility at the early age of sixteen. He promptly set about devising or contriving plans to avenge his father's death and to this end accompanied the noted Hole-in-the-Day on a war expedition against the dreaded warriors of the plains. (Incidentally it may be noted that the Chippewa was the only tribe ever able to hold its own against the Sioux.) Somewhere near St. Paul the enemy was encountered. The war parties were about equal in number, but in a desperate fight the Sioux were overwhelmed, and the scalps of most of them went to adorn the belts of the victorious Chippewa braves. When a brave distinguished himself in battle by killing and scalping his foe he was usually decorated with a feather from a war eagle. An indication of the prowess of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig and of the manner of life he led is afforded by the fact that he accumulated some twenty of these prized trophies.

Other warriors have been as brave and successful as May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, but we come now to a severer test of his ability for leadership among his people. The red man's sun was setting in the upper Mississippi Valley; an alien race with another manner of life had come to dominate the scene. In the spring of 1867 our chief signed, along with other chiefs of the Mississippi Chippewa, a treaty with the Great Father at Washington whereby the tribesmen surrendered their lands to the white man and had set aside for them as a permanent home the reservation at White Earth. Shortly after the ratification of the treaty May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig and his followers abandoned their familiar camping grounds and followed their guides along the sad trail which led to the home newly assigned to them, arriving at the site of the first agency in June, 1868. From this time forth for half a century the chief devoted his influence for the development of his people in the ways of peace and civilization, striving to better the

narrow limits prescribed for them by their segregated sphere and to lead them into the white man's way of life. In this endeavor he had the devoted aid of men like ex-Senator Henry M. Pierce, Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota, Bishop Henry B. Whipple, and Bishop Thomas Grace. For these facts we are indebted to Theodore H. Beaulieu of White Earth, Minnesota, whose grandfather, Paul H. Beaulieu, was an early resident of Wisconsin and in 1800 conducted a trading post at Lac la Pluie (Rainy Lake). Paul Beaulieu's wife was an aunt of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, and hence the biographer is a blood relative of the subject of his sketch. We conclude with the following picture of the chief, published in the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* in January, 1899:

"Tall, sinewy and bony, standing fully six feet in his stocking feet, May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig, the most popular and leading hereditary Chief of the Minnesota Chippewas, is a most picturesque and typical representative of the noble American Indian. To a stranger the face of this grand Chippewa Chief would seem to have been carved out of granite or the mummified visage of some ancient Pharo king, whose cold rigid features were never softened or cheered by a smile, yet this venerable Oracle, with flowing locks, plentifully tinged with gray, possesses the genial light of love and devotion in his dark kindly eyes and betrays the munificent tendency of a big heart, pleasing disposition and is very popular not only with his people but with every one who comes in contact with him."

From Mrs. M. S. Stephens of Cassville has come an interesting addition to the Society's collection of manuscripts. The gift comprises the original manuscripts of the four annual addresses of Governor Nelson Dewey to the state legislature of Wisconsin. In the case of all but the fourth, the original, old-fashioned wrapper in which the address was placed for permanent keeping is still intact.

From Knud Henderson of Cambridge the Society has received a unique file of *Wossingen*, one of the early Norwegian newspapers established in America. *Wossingen* was a small sheet, issued monthly and sold at twenty-five cents a year. It is peculiar among early Norwegian-American papers as being chiefly a medium of communication between those who had come to America and their kindred at home. An account of the paper may be found in A. O. Barton's article, "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," published in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1916.

A valuable addition to the Society's collection of newspapers is a file of *Freedom's Champion* published at Atchison, Kansas,

covering the years from 1858 to 1894. In 1855 the *Squatter Sovereign* was founded at Atchison as a radical proslavery organ. Two years later the free state party gained control of the paper, and in February, 1858 John A. Martin, a young Pennsylvanian still in his teens who had come to Atchison only four months before, became its editor. Martin promptly changed the name of the paper to *Freedom's Champion*, and under this name, shorn of the qualifying adjective, it is still published. Although but fifty years old at the time of his death in 1889, Martin had for thirty years played a leading rôle in the development of Kansas. He was one of the organizers of the Republican party in the territory, a colonel and brevet brigadier general in the Civil War, state legislator, mayor of his city, and twice governor of Kansas. Thus, in part because of its location but largely because of the character of its editor, the *Champion* became one of the most important of Kansas newspapers. The file the Society has acquired begins with volume I, number 1 of the *Freedom's Champion* and through a third of a century of time and more than sixty bound volumes is practically complete. An interesting sample of the spirit of the times as reflected in the early years of the paper is afforded by a sarcastic editorial in the second issue under Martin's editorship entitled "How Great are Thy People, Oh! Kickapoo!" At this place, whose material surroundings, like its name, reflected the atmosphere of the American wilderness, the slave state party under the inspiration of the "border-ruffians" of Missouri had returned over a thousand badly-needed ballots for their cause in the election of December, 1857 on the adoption of a proslavery state constitution. A commission which was promptly appointed to investigate frauds in the election procured the original poll book of votes cast by the residents of Kickapoo. By this "it appears that James Buchanan, President of the U. S. *and resident* of Kickapoo, was the 270th voter; casting a ballot for the Constitution *with* Slavery—a fact which conclusively proves the vote is veritable. Next on this roll of illustrious names comes W. H. Seward as the 176th voter—a ballot somewhat unaccountable, as the distinguished Senator from New York was at that time making speeches *against* the Constitution at Washington: But we suppose it is all right—who in Kickapoo would be guilty of frauds?" After further comment on now-departed illustrious one-day residents of Kickapoo, which we omit, the editor continues: "Thomas H. Benton here takes a 'view' of the Kickapoo polls, as the 916th voter; and then with white coat all in trim comes Horace Greeley, who deposits the 980th ballot. The last scene of the drama is now on the tapis, and in all the majesty of a first appearance before a Kansas audience, in struts Edwin Forrest, the great trage-

dian, as the 1056th voter—*positively his last appearance on the Kansas boards*—and down goes the curtain."

From the fact that in the great collection of Kansas newspapers belonging to the state historical society at Topeka the file of the *Champion* begins with the year 1876, it seems fairly probable that for the first eighteen years the file which has now come to Madison is the only one now in existence.

THE GENERAL BRYANT PAPERS

George Edwin Bryant was an outstanding figure in Wisconsin's contribution to the Civil War. Born on February 11, 1832, in Massachusetts, he was educated at Norwich University, Vermont, studied law, and came to Wisconsin about 1856. He was active in organizing the Governor's Guard and the Madison Guards, and as captain of the latter became part of the First Volunteer Infantry sent forward in March, 1861 to the front. The following September he was commissioned colonel of the Twelfth Infantry and led that regiment through all its vicissitudes, in Missouri and Kansas, around Vicksburg, in the Atlanta campaign, and in Sherman's March to the Sea. During part of the time Colonel Bryant commanded a brigade but was never granted the rank of brigadier general—his title coming from militia service after the war. In this later period of his career he served the state and community in many capacities,—as county judge, postmaster, legislator, superintendent of public property, etc. He died at his home near Madison, February 16, 1907. His son Frank H. Bryant has presented to the Society a number of his father's Civil War papers, which cover in time the entire four years of the conflict. Among them we note the original muster roll of the famous Company E of the First Wisconsin Regiment that having been organized as the Madison Guards was offered to the governor for the country's service before the firing upon Sumter. Among other rolls is one made out by Simeon Mills, signed by William L. Utley, of the companies enrolled in October, 1861 in the Twelfth Wisconsin. There follows in point of time the certificates given by Colonel Bryant to the railroads that transported his regiment to Missouri, and then in succession orders and military documents, some of them signed by General Grenville M. Dodge, who was later to build the Union Pacific Railway.

Some of the most interesting of the papers are copies of letters to President Lincoln urging the promotion of Colonel Bryant to the rank of brigadier general; these were signed by every officer in the regiment and by many of his superior officers and testify not only to his worth as a soldier but to the personal regard he inspired in all

who served with him. Although these requests were never honored by the desired rank, Colonel Bryant had the satisfaction of knowing how highly his colleagues and comrades regarded him.

There are in this collection but few private letters and such as there are are on military subjects. Among the writers are Senator Timothy O. Howe and General James K. Proudfit. The collection as a whole is a valuable addition to the Society's growing store of Civil War material.

THE KNAPP DIARIES

In the decade following the Civil War the lumbering corporation of Knapp, Stout and Company at Menomonie, Wisconsin was reputed to be the largest in the world. The senior member of the firm was John Holley Knapp, who was born in Elmira, New York, March 29, 1825 and came west with his father (of the same name) in 1835. The Knapp family settled at Fort Madison on the Mississippi; and young Knapp grew up among the steamboat and raftsmen of the great river. In 1846 he visited the pineries on the Chippewa River in company with Captain William Wilson, an older lumberman. Young Knapp invested his capital of a thousand dollars in a sawmill, and thereafter spent his life in developing the lumber trade. He had several partners during the early days, Andrew Tainter and James H. Stout being the best known. Fortunately two of Mr. Knapp's early diaries have been preserved and have recently been deposited with the Society by his son, Henry E. Knapp of Menomonie. These cover the formative years 1848 and 1851, and are a valuable source of study for the early lumbering industry.

Mr. Knapp's share of the business was the buying and transportation of supplies and goods from the river to the pinery and the sale and disposal of the sawed lumber from the rafts as they floated down the stream. These activities kept him traveling from point to point on steamboats, by horseback, in stage coaches, and on his own lumber rafts, all the way from St. Louis to Lake Pepin. As the rafts came down he would meet them on the river and endeavor to sell from them lath, shingles, and boards, sometimes disposing of a crib or two at a time, occasionally selling to a dealer the entire raft. In his diary for 1848 Mr. Knapp frequently complains of the lack of a market. "Lumber cant be sold in Galena at this time," he writes on August thirteenth. "The market is glutted & no cash on hand to buy with." At one river port he exchanged lath and shingles for a yoke of cattle. Finally he succeeded in selling the entire raft.

Again he made a visit to the mill, going up on a steamboat to Nelson's Landing in Lake Pepin, riding horseback through the wil-

derness. All was well at the mill, and the garden had produced thousand bushels of potatoes and a thousand cabbages. Upon on of his visits to the mills in 1851 Mr. Knapp met the first Methodis itinerant in the Chippewa country. At Prairie du Chien on his wa down he listened to a "biological lecture" where there was afterward a dance.

Mr. Knapp was no mere devotee of business; his diary show how many were his interests and how full his life. He was a grea reader and commented with good judgment on what he read. A St. Louis he went often to see good plays, mentioning in his diar that he once saw Charlotte Cushman in the "Hunchback." Whe possible he attended divine service and gave good heed to the sermons Once he visited Galesburg and vividly describes the embryo college the academy with its pretty girls, and the library "which is quit an extensive one for so young an institution." In his leisure hour he studied Latin and perused "Paradise Lost." He likewise enjoye social life and was greeted by friendly invitations at most of th river towns where he stopped.

In 1849 Mr. Knapp brought a bride from Massachusetts to For Madison, and the opening entry in his diary of 1851 records th birth of his son Henry. Thereafter home was his first interest, an he eagerly turned thither after every trip up or down the river. I 1848 Mr. Knapp voted for Zachary Taylor but appears to hav taken no active share in politics. He was a member of the Masoni order and occasionally attended lodge. His diaries reveal the tru character of the man, upright, honorable, of unblemished integrity untiring industry, and neighborly kindness. Of such were the com monwealth builders of the Great West.

THE WILLARD KEYES DIARY

We venture to recall to our readers an anecdote of ante bellu days which is now venerable enough to gain admission to the column of a magazine of history. A Kentucky slave, who had obtaine license to preach, was discoursing to his flock on the process o Adam's creation: "When God made Adam," he said, "he stoop down scrape up a li'l dirt, wet it a li'l, warm it a li'l in he hands, squeez it in de right shape, and den lean it up agin de fence to dry—"

"Stop right dere," interrupted a member of the flock who wa possessed of meditative proclivities, "you say dat are de fustest ma eber made?"

"Sarten," said the preacher.

"Den," rejoined his questioner, "jes tell a feller whar dat 'a fence come from?"

"Hush yo mouf!" cried the preacher. "Two more questions like dat 'ud spile all de theology in de worl."

Apropos of which we are moved to observe that in history as in theology it is a hazardous thing to speak with assurance about the first beginnings of things. We are taught in the schools that Columbus discovered America in 1492. Yet a distinguished curator of this Society once wrote a book with the title *America not Discovered by Christopher Columbus;* and at the present time there are those who believe in the authenticity of the Kensington Rune Stone, which indicates the presence of Norsemen in Minnesota in the year 1362. Were Jolliet and Marquette the first white men to see the upper Mississippi? Or was Robert Peary (or Dr. Cook, as the case may be) the first to visit the north pole? The recent discovery of a fascinating diary of life in Wisconsin a century and more ago gives local point to these reflections. Hitherto our earliest knowledge of logging on Black River—several tantalizingly scanty allusions aside—has had to do with some pioneer lumbermen who began operations about the year 1840. The newly-discovered diary carries the story backward more than two decades, revealing that white men were logging at Black River Falls as early as 1818 and rendering it fairly probable (although positive information of this is lacking) that others had engaged in the industry here at a still earlier date.

The diary in question was kept by Willard Keyes, a resident of Wisconsin from 1817 to 1819, and is now owned by a grandson who lives in California. By him it has been loaned to the Society for the purpose of making an accurate copy. The diary itself is an intensely interesting document and richly deserves publication either in this MAGAZINE or in another suitable medium. Keyes was a young Vermonter who in June, 1817, "impelled by a curiosity or desire of seeing other places" than those of his home vicinity, set forth "intending to travel into the western parts of the United States." That in his wildest dreams he had not anticipated more than a fraction of what subsequently befell him becomes evident as we proceed with the journal which he began keeping on the day of his departure from home. The "western parts" of the United States was then an extensive region, and our adventurer set forth apparently with no definite idea as to whither his travels might lead him. As so often in real life, pure chance determined his entire future, and incidentally the writing of the present notice. Passing westward to Albany and beyond, he fell in with one Constant Andrews. Andrews was a member of the party of the Rev. Samuel Peters, who was coming to Wisconsin in pursuit of that will-o-the-wisp, the Carver Grant, with a view to establishing his colony of Petersylvania. The story of Petersyl-

vania yet awaits writing (the recovery of the Keyes diary will prove of material assistance in writing it), and we venture to doubt whether a single one of the learned readers of this MAGAZINE has ever ever heard the name, heretofore, of this abortive colony. The name of its progenitor is a familiar one, however, for Peters was an ex-Connecticut Tory clergyman who achieved lasting fame (or infamy, depending on the point of view one takes) by publishing in London in 1781 a *General History of Connecticut*, wherein, along with much innocent matter, the foibles of his erstwhile neighbors were exposed to the world in such fashion as to win for the author the undying animosity of all loyal sons of the Nutmeg State. Now, well beyond the age of four score, the venerable author was seeking to win for himself a truly imperial dominion in the wilds of modern Wisconsin. Andrews urged Keyes to join Peters' party, and after earnest and pious reflection upon the probable consequences of such a course, he concluded to do so. Thus it was that he made the long and dangerous journey, chiefly by canoe and Mackinaw boat, to Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1817 and became for the ensuing two years a resident of this curious and already venerable wilderness outpost. The only law in vogue was that of the military; and this was dispensed at the time of Peters' arrival by a born autocrat, Colonel Talbot Chambers. This dignitary prevented Peters, notwithstanding his credentials, from proceeding into the Sioux country (his destination was the River bands of Sioux in the vicinity of the mouth of the St. Peters); and after a six-months' wait in vain the old man, disappointed but not despairing, made the long journey back to New York City. Here he died in poverty some eight years later, having striven to the end to gain recognition of his claim to the Carver Grant. Keyes stayed in Prairie du Chien, taught school for a time (incidentally we learn that he was not Wisconsin's first pedagogue, for another New Englander had preceded him as teacher at Prairie du Chien), helped to build and then operate a gristmill, likewise to build and operate a sawmill, and as already noted passed his second winter in the West logging at Black River Falls. In the spring of 1819 with infinite difficulty he piloted his raft down the Black and the Mississippi, bade farewell to Prairie du Chien, and like Huckleberry Finn of more recent fame floated down the great river in search of further adventure. A few years later he turned up as one of the founders of Quincy, Illinois, prospered with the growth of the city, and long before his death a half century later had come to be regarded as one of the pillars of the community. But our present interest in him ceases when his raft cuts loose from its moorings at Prairie du Chien, terminating therewith its owner's career as a resident of

future Badgerdom. The finding of this diary after a hundred years of obscurity would constitute in itself an interesting story, but lack of space forbids our telling it here. The discovery and preservation of the Willard Keyes diary should afford gratification to all who are interested in the records of Wisconsin's past.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

James H. McManus ("A Forgotten Trail") has been for forty years a pastor attached to the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His present contribution indicates to some extent what his intellectual tastes and diversions have been during this period.

Hjalmar R. Holand ("The Kensington Rune Stone") is a farmer and orchardist at Ephraim, who has long concerned himself with local history. In the present article he explains how he became interested in the Kensington Rune Stone, about which a lengthy debate has been waged in recent years. Mr. Holand is the most active champion of the historicity of the rune stone and his present article is the latest word on the affirmative side of the debate.

W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: I. Portage, the Break in a Historic Waterway") is a native of Fond du Lac County, where he now resides. Mr. Titus has long pursued the study of archeology and has built up a notable archeological collection. He is a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Wisconsin and life member of the State Historical Society. The present is the first of a series of articles by Mr. Titus on the general subject to be printed in the MAGAZINE.

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research member of the staff of the State Historical Society and a frequent contributor to its publications.

William F. Whyte ("Observations of a Contract Surgeon") is a native of Scotland who came to Wisconsin in childhood and for forty years practiced medicine at Watertown. Dr. Whyte has been a member of the State Board of Health for twenty-one years and its president for sixteen years. He has previously written for this Society "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County" (in *Proceedings* for 1915) and "The Watertown Railway Bond Fight" (in *Proceedings* for 1916).

THE WIDER FIELD

A joint meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical and the Menominee County Historical societies was held at Menominee, Michigan, August 6 and 7, 1919. Among the numerous addresses delivered were several dealing with phases of the history of Menominee, of Iron and Dickinson counties, and of the Upper Peninsula in general. The recent gathering was the fourth annual meeting of the Pioneer and Historical Society devoted to the interests of the Upper Peninsula.

The July, 1919 issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the usual lengthy list of historical contributions. Among them we note the following as being of more particular interest to readers of this magazine : "Historical Work after the War," by Augustus C. Carton; "The Forests of the Upper Peninsula and their Place in History," by Alvah L. Sawyer; "Place Names in the Upper Peninsula," by W. F. Gagnieur; and "History of the Marquette Ore Docks," by D. H. Merritt.

The annual volume of *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1918 came to hand in September, 1919. It contains the addresses delivered at the centennial meeting of the Society in May, 1918, several of which are of much interest. Among them we note "Virginia in the Making of Illinois," by H. J. Eckenrode; "Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century," by Allen Johnson; and "Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest," by E. J. Benton. The most considerable contribution to the volume in point of length is Andrew J. Mills' narrative "One Hundred Years of Sunday School History in Illinois."

In Volume V of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* are printed the pioneer recollections of John H. Fonda of Prairie du Chien which originally appeared serially in the Prairie du Chien *Courier* in 1858. Although much of Fonda's life was passed in Wisconsin, by about the year 1819 he had migrated from New York to Texas, and the next few years were for him a life of adventure and hardship in the far Southwest. The portion of Fonda's recollections dealing with this period of his life has been reprinted with appropriate editorial comment in the July *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. The editor introduces Fonda to the *Quarterly's* readers as "a practically overlooked explorer and trader in the Southwest."

For many years the Lakeside Press of Chicago has published annually for gratuitous distribution at Christmas time a small volume dealing with some phase of Middle Western history, and for the last three years the editing of this volume has been done by M. M. Quaife of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The volume for the present year is entitled *A Woman's Picture of Pioneer Illinois.* It is a reprint, with historical introduction and appropriate editing, of the recollections of Mrs. Christiana H. Tillson, who came as a bride from her native Massachusetts to the very edge of the Illinois frontier in 1822. Originally printed privately for family distribution, the volume has long since become exceedingly rare. A canvass of the leading reference libraries of the country disclosed but three copies of the book—at Madison, at Chicago, and at Springfield, Illinois. More recently two more copies have been found, both in the Quincy Historical Society collection. The new edition in the *Lakeside Classics* series should give to this charming narrative a fresh lease of life.

STATEMENT

of THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, published quarterly at Menasha, Wis., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

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None.

George Banta, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1919.

[SEAL] Gertrude W. Sawyer,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 21, 1920.)

JONATHAN CARVER
From the London (1781) edition of Carver's *Travels*

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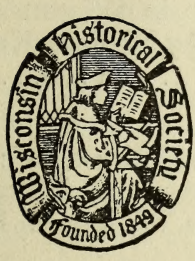

PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE, Superintendent

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AN EXPERIMENT OF THE FATHERS IN STATE SOCIALISM

M. M. Quaife

The rapid advance of recent years along the pathway of state socialism has commonly been regarded as a new phenomenon in American life, as, indeed, in many respects it is. Curiously enough, however, one of its most advanced and recent manifestations, the entrance of the government upon the field of retail merchandising with a view to controlling prices in the supposed interest of the general public as opposed to the machinations of a set of grasping middlemen, closely repeats in many particulars a notable and now long-forgotten experiment of the United States government in the field of retail trade a century and more ago. Some account of the hopes entertained by the governmental authorities who initiated the enterprise and their disappointment as the result of actual trial may afford entertainment and mayhap even profit to readers in the present juncture of public affairs.

The ancient experiment of the government in retail merchandising was designed, like the recent one, to lower the cost of living and promote the contentment of mind of the public in whose interest it was instituted. Instead of citizens of the United States, however, that public consisted of an alien and inferior race, the red men along our far flung frontier. The origin of the policy of governmental trading houses for the Indians dates from the early colonial period. In the Plymouth and Jamestown settlements all industry was at first controlled by the commonwealth and in Massachusetts Bay the stock company had reserved to itself the trade in furs before leaving England. In the last-named colony a notable experiment was carried on during the first half of the eighteenth century in conducting "truck houses" for the Indians.

About the middle of the century Benjamin Franklin, whose attention had been called to the abuses which the Indians of the Pennsylvania frontier were suffering at the hands of private traders, investigated the workings of the Massachusetts system and recommended the establishment of public trading houses at suitable places along the frontier.

The first step toward the establishment of a national system of Indian trading houses was taken under the guidance of the ommiscient Franklin during the opening throes of the American Revolution. To the second Continental Congress the establishment of friendly relations with the Indians appeared a matter of "utmost moment." Accordingly it was resolved July 12, 1775 to establish three Indian trading departments, a northern, a middle, and a southern, with appropriate powers for supervising the relations of the United Colonies with the Indians. In November of the same year a committee, of which Franklin was a member, was directed to devise a plan for carrying on trade with the Indians and ways and means for procuring the goods for it.

Acting upon the report of this committee Congress adopted a series of resolutions outlining a general system of governmental supervision of the Indian trade and appropriating the sum of 40,000 pounds to purchase goods for it. These were to be disposed of by licensed traders, acting under instructions laid down by the commissions and under bond to them to insure compliance with the prescribed regulations. The following month Congress further manifested its good intentions toward the native race by passing resolutions expressing its faith in the benefits to accrue from the propagation of the gospel and the civil arts among the red men and directing the commissioners of Indian affairs to report upon suitable places in their departments for establishing schoolmasters and ministers of the gospel.

The exigencies of the war, absorbing all the energies of the new government, soon frustrated this new plan, and not until

1786 was a systematic effort made to regulate the Indian trade. In that year the Indian department was divided into two districts, a superintendent and a deputy being appointed for each. They were to execute the regulations of Congress relating to Indian affairs. Only citizens of the United States whose good moral character had been certified by the governor of a state were eligible to licenses; they were to run for one year and to be granted upon the payment of fifty dollars and the execution of a bond to insure compliance with the regulations of the Indian department. To engage in trade without a license incurred a penalty of five hundred dollars and forfeiture of goods.

This was, apparently, a judicious system, but the government of the Confederation had about run its course and the general paralysis which overtook it, together with the confusion attendant upon the establishment of the new national government, prevented the new policy toward the Indians from being carried into effect. Prominent among the problems which pressed upon the new government for solution was the subject of Indian relations and in this connection the question of the regulation of the Indian trade. In 1790 the licensing system of 1786 was temporarily adopted, shorn of some of its more valuable features, however. There was no prohibition against foreigners, and no license fee was required. This system was continued without essential change until 1816, when an act was passed prohibiting foreigners from trading with Indians in the United States except by special permission of the president and under such regulations as he might prescribe.

The young government shortly entered upon the most serious Indian war in all its history and not until one of its armies had been repulsed and another destroyed did Anthony Wayne succeed in extorting from the hostile red men a recognition of the government he represented. At the close of this war Congress, at the instigation of Washington,

determined to experiment with another system of conducting the Indian trade. In the session of 1795, stirred up by the repeated recommendations of Washington, that body debated a bill for the establishment of Indian trading houses. Though the bill was defeated at this time its purpose as stated by its supporters is worth noting. It was regarded as constituting a part only of a comprehensive frontier policy; this policy embraced the threefold design of the military protection of the frontier against Indian invasions, the legal protection of the Indian country against predatory white incursions, and the establishment of trading houses to supply the wants of the Indians and free them from foreign influence. It was believed that these three things embraced in one system would bring about the great desideratum, peace on the frontier; but that without the last the other parts of the plan would prove totally ineffectual.

The defeat of the advocates of the system of government trading houses in 1795 was neither final nor complete. Their principal measure had failed of passage, but at this same session Congress appropriated the sum of fifty thousand dollars to begin the establishment of public trading houses, and two were accordingly started among the Cherokee, Creeks, and Chickasaw of the Southwest. The next year a second act was passed, carrying an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in addition to an annual allowance for the payment of agents and clerks. The president was authorized to establish trading houses at such places as he saw fit for carrying on a "liberal trade" with the Indians. The agents and clerks employed were prohibited from engaging in trade on their own account and were required to give bonds for the faithful performance of their duties. The act was to run for two years, and the trade was to be so conducted that the capital sum should suffer no diminution.

Until 1803, however, nothing was done to extend the system of trading houses thus experimentally begun in

1795. In the debates over the passage of the act of 1796 it was made evident that even the supporters of the measure regarded it in the light of an experiment. The recent war had cost one and a half million dollars annually; it was worth while to try another method of securing peace on the frontier. Since the Canadian trading company was too powerful for individual Americans to compete with successfully, the government must assume the task. If upon trial the plan should prove a failure it could be abandoned. On the other hand it was objected that public bodies should not engage in trade, which was always managed better by individuals; fraud and loss could not be guarded against; nor should the people be taxed for the sake of maintaining trade with the Indians. In spite of these objections and prophecies, the report of 1801 showed that the original capital had suffered no diminution, but had, in fact, been slightly increased; this, too, despite losses that had been incurred through the failure of the sales agent, to whom they had been assigned, to dispose of the peltries before many had become ruined.

In January, 1803 the powerful influence of President Jefferson was put behind the development of the government trading house system. He stated in a message to Congress on the subject that private traders, both domestic and foreign, were being undersold and driven from competition; that the system was effective in conciliating the goodwill of the Indians; and that they were soliciting generally the establishment of trading houses among them. At the same time the Secretary of War reported the establishment of four new stations at Detroit, Fort Wayne, Chickasaw Bluffs, and among the Choctaw, to which the remainder of the money appropriated in 1796 had been applied. This remained the number until 1805, when four more were established at Arkansas on the Arkansas River, at Nachitoches on the Red River, at Belle Fontaine near the mouth of the Missouri, and at Chicago. The following year a trading house was estab-

lished at Sandusky on Lake Erie, and in 1808 three more at Mackinac, at Fort Osage, and at Fort Madison. Meanwhile the two original houses had been removed to new locations and two others, those at Detroit and at Belle Fontaine, had been abandoned.

From 1808 until the beginning of the War of 1812 there were thus twelve factories in operation. At each was stationed an agent or factor and at most an assistant or clerk as well. The salaries of the former prior to 1810 ranged from $750 to $1,250, in most cases not exceeding $1,000; the pay of the latter from $250 to $650; in both cases subsistence was granted in addition. In 1810 the superintendent of the trade estimated that of the total amount of $280,000, which had been invested in the business, $235,000 still remained; the loss in the capital invested to this date was therefore, in round numbers, $45,000. The four-year period ending in 1815, on the other hand, in spite of the disturbance to trade which attended the operations of the War of 1812, produced a profit of $60,000. Approximately three-fourths of this gain was swallowed up in the destruction during the war of the factories at Chicago, Fort Wayne, Sandusky, Mackinac, and Fort Madison; however this was the fortune of war and not in any way the fault of the system.

Upon the conclusion of peace with Great Britain in 1815 fresh plans were laid for the extension of the department of Indian trade. Although the territory northwest of the Ohio River had been ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris of 1783, down to the War of 1812 American sovereignty had been but imperfectly established over much of this region. Even the limited measure of control which had been gained prior to 1812 was largely lost during the war, and the British diplomats strove earnestly at Ghent to render this loss permanent by erecting south of the lakes an Indian barrier state which should forever protect the English in Canada from the advancing tide of American settlement. This effort

failed, however, and the War Department moved promptly to the establishment of American authority in the Northwest.

The restoration and extension of the system of government trading houses was an integral part of the program; and hand in hand with the rebuilding of forts or the founding of new ones at such points as Mackinac, Green Bay, Chicago, and Prairie du Chien went the establishment of factories at the points of greatest strategic importance. The system continued in operation until the summer of 1822 when in response to a vigorous campaign waged by Senator Benton against it, it was suddenly abolished. To the reasons for this action and a consideration of the failure of the system our attention may now be turned.

The government trading-house system had been established under the influence of a twofold motive. The primary consideration of the government's Indian policy was the maintenance of peace on the frontier. This could best be accomplished by rendering the Indian contented and by freeing him from the influence of foreigners. Not merely his happiness, but his very existence depended upon his securing from the whites those articles which he needed but which he himself could not produce; and since the private traders took advantage of his weakness and ignorance to exploit him outrageously in the conduct of the Indian trade, it was argued that the welfare of the Indian would be directly promoted and indirectly the peace of the frontier be conserved by the establishment of government trading houses upon the principles that have been indicated.

The theory underlying the government factory system seemed sound, but in practice several obstacles to its successful working, powerful enough in the aggregate to cause its abandonment, were encountered. Not until 1816 was an act passed excluding foreigners from the trade, and even then such exceptions were allowed as to render the prohibition of little value. The amount of money devoted to the factory system

was never sufficient to permit its extension to more than a small proportion of the tribes. However well conducted the business may have been, this fact alone would have prevented the attainment of the larger measure of benefit that had been anticipated.

Another and inherent cause of failure lay in the difficulty of public operation of a business so special and highly complicated in character as the conduct of the Indian trade. Great shrewdness, intimate knowledge of the native character, and a willingness to endure great privations were among the qualifications essential to its successful prosecution. The private trader was at home with the red men; his livelihood depended upon his exertions; and he was free from the moral restraints which governed the conduct of the government factor. Above all he was his own master, free to adapt his course to the exigencies of the moment; the factor was hampered by regulations prescribed by a superintendent who resided far distant from the western country; and he, in turn, by a Congress which commonly turned a deaf ear to his repeated appeals for amendment of the act governing the conduct of the trade. The factor's income was assured regardless of the amount of trade he secured; nor was he affected by losses due to error of judgment on his part, as was the private trader. Too often he had at the time of his appointment no acquaintance with the Indian or with the business put in his charge. To instance a single case: Jacob Varnum at the time of his appointment to the Sandusky factory was a native of rural New England, who had neither asked nor desired such an appointment. It is doubtful whether he had ever seen an Indian; he was certainly entirely without mercantile experience; yet he had for competitors shrewd and able men who had spent practically their whole lives in the Indian trade.

The goods for the government trade must be bought in the United States; the peltries secured in its conduct must be sold here. This worked disaster to the enterprise in various

ways. From their long experience in supplying the Indian trade the English had become expert in the production of articles suited to the red man's taste. It was impossible for the government buying in the United States to match in quality and in attractiveness to the Indian the goods of the Canadian trader. Even if English goods were purchased of American importers, the factory system was handicapped by reason of the higher price which must be paid. On the other hand the prohibition against the exportation of peltries compelled the superintendent of the trade to dispose of them in the American market. Experience proved that the domestic demand for peltries, particularly for deer skins, did not equal the supply; therefore the restriction frequently occasioned financial loss. But there were further restrictions in the act of 1806 which narrowed the choice of a market even within the United States. That these restrictions would operate to diminish the business and accordingly the influence of the government trading houses is obvious.

Another group of restrictions worked injury to the factory system through their failure to accommodate the habits and desires of the Indian. To trade with the government the Indian must come to the factory. The private trader took his goods to the Indian. The red man was notably lacking in prudence and thrift and was careless and heedless of the future. He was, too, a migratory being, his winters being devoted to the annual hunt, which frequently carried him several hundred miles away from his summer residence. Before setting out on such a hunt he must secure a suitable equipment of supplies. Since he never had money accumulated, this must be obtained on credit and be paid for with the proceeds of the ensuing winter's hunt. The factor was prohibited, for the most part, from extending such credit; the private trader willingly granted it, and furthermore, he frequently followed the Indian on his hunt to collect his pay as fast as the furs were taken. In such cases as the factor did

extend credit to the Indian, the private trader often succeeded in wheedling him out of the proceeds of his hunt, leaving him nothing with which to discharge his debt to the factor.

The greatest advantage, perhaps, enjoyed by the private trader involved at the same time the most disgraceful feature connected with the Indian trade. From the first association of the Indian with the white race his love of liquor proved his greatest curse. The literature of the subject abounds in narrations of this weakness and the unscrupulous way in which the white man took advantage of it. For liquor the red man would barter his all. It constituted an indispensable part of the trader's outfit, and all of the government's prohibitions against its use in the Indian trade were in vain, as had been those of the French and British governments before it. The Indians themselves realized their fatal weakness, but although they frequently protested against the bringing of liquor to them, they were powerless to overcome it. The factor had no whisky for the Indian; consequently the private trader secured his trade.

The remedy for this state of affairs is obvious. Either the government should have monopolized the Indian trade, at the same time extending the factory system to supply its demands, or else the factory system should have been abandoned and the trade left entirely to private individuals under suitable governmental regulation. The former course had been urged upon Congress at various times, but no disposition to adopt it had ever been manifested. The time had now arrived to adopt the other alternative. As a resident of St. Louis and senator from Missouri Benton was the immediate spokesman in Congress of the powerful group of St. Louis fur traders, who, like their rivals of the American Fur Company and, indeed, all the private traders, were bitterly antagonistic to the government trading houses. Soon after he entered the Senate Benton urged upon Calhoun, then secretary of war, the abolition of the system. Calhoun, however,

entertained a high opinion of the superintendent of Indian trade and refused to credit the charges of maladministration preferred by Benton. This refusal led Benton to open a direct assault upon the system in the Senate. In this two advantages favored his success: as an inhabitant of a frontier state he was presumed to have personal knowledge of the abuses of the system he was attacking; and as a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs he was specially charged with the legislative oversight of matters pertaining to the Indians.

Benton believed and labored to show that the original purpose of the government trading houses had been lost sight of; that the administration of the system had been marked by stupidity and fraud; that the East had been preferred to the West by the superintendent of Indian trade in making purchases and sales; in short that the factory system constituted a great abuse, the continued maintenance of which was desired only by those private interests which found a profit therein. In view of the circumstances of the situation his conclusion that the government trading houses should be abolished was probably wise; but the reasons on which he based this conclusion were largely erroneous. His information was gained from such men as Ramsey Crooks, then and for long years a leader in the councils of the American Fur Company. This organization had a direct interest in the overthrow of the factory system. Its estimate of the value of the latter was about as disingenuous as would be the opinion today of the leader of a liquor dealers' organization of the merits of the Prohibition party.

Benton's charges of fraud on the part of the superintendent and the factors failed to convince the majority of the Senators who spoke in the debate, and the student of the subject today must conclude that the evidence does not sustain them. There was more truth in his charges with respect to unwise management of the enterprise; but for this Congress, rather

than the superintendent, was primarily responsible. It is evident, too, that in spite of his claim to speak from personal knowledge Benton might well have been better informed about the subject of the Indian trade. One of his principal charges concerned the unsuitability of the articles selected for it by the superintendent. But the list of items which he read to support this charge but partially supported his contention. Upon one item—eight gross of jews'-harps—the orator fairly exhausted his powers of sarcasm and invective. Yet a fuller knowledge of the subject under discussion would have spared him this effort. Ramsey Crooks could have informed him that jews'-harps were a well-known article of the Indian trade. Only a year before this tirade was delivered the American Fur Company had supplied a single trader with four gross of these articles for his winter's trade on the Mississippi.

Although Benton's charges so largely failed of substantiation, yet the Senate approved his motion for the abolition of the factory system. The reasons for this action are evident from the debate. Even his colleagues on the Committee on Indian Affairs did not accept Benton's charges of maladministration. They reported the bill for the abolition of the trading-house system in part because of their objections to the system itself. It had never been extended to more than a fraction of the Indians on the frontier; to extend it to all of them would necessitate a largely increased capital and would result in a multiplication of the obstacles already encountered on a small scale. The complicated nature of the Indian trade was such that only individual enterprise and industry was fitted to conduct it with success. Finally the old argument which had been wielded against the initiation of the system, that it was not a proper governmental function, was employed. The trade should be left to individuals, the government limiting itself to regulating properly their activities.

Benton's method of abolishing the factory system exhibited as little evidence of statesmanship as did that employed

by Jackson in his more famous enterprise of destroying the second United States Bank. In 1818 Calhoun, as Secretary of War, had been directed by Congress to propose a plan for the abolition of the trading-house system. In his report he pointed out that two objects should be held in view in winding up its affairs: to sustain as little loss as possible; and to withdraw from the trade gradually in order that the place vacated by the government might be filled by others with as little disturbance as practicable. Neither of these considerations was heeded by Benton. He succeeded in so changing the bill for the abolition of the system as to provide that the termination of its affairs should be consummated within a scant two months, and by another set of men than the factors and superintendent. That considerable loss should be incurred in winding up such a business was inevitable. Calhoun's suggestions would have minimized this as much as possible. Benton's plan caused the maximum of loss to the government and of confusion to the Indian trade. According to a report made by Congress in 1824 on the abolition of the factory system, a loss of over fifty per cent of the capital stock was sustained.

The failure of the trading-house system constitutes but one chapter in the long and sorrowful story of the almost total failure of the government of the United States to realize in practice its good intentions toward the Indians. The factory system was entered upon from motives of prudence and humanity; that it was productive of beneficial results cannot be successfully disputed; that it failed to achieve the measure of benefit to the red race and the white for which its advocates had hoped must be attributed by the student, as it was by Calhoun, "not to a want of dependence on the part of the Indians on commercial supplies but to defects in the system itself or in its administration." The fatal error arose from the timidity of the government. Instead of monopolizing the field of the Indian trade, it entered upon it as the competitor of the private trader. Since its agents could not stoop to the

practices to which the latter resorted, the failure of the experiment was a foregone conclusion. Yet it did not follow from this failure that with a monopoly of the field the government would not have rendered better service to the public than did the private traders. Lacking the courage of its convictions, it permitted the failure of perhaps the most promising experiment for the amelioration of the condition of the red man upon which it has ever embarked.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF JONATHAN CARVER

WILLIAM BROWNING

Few of our early native explorers rank with Carver. The importance of a correct account of him, however, depends not so much on the value of his discoveries as on the pragmatic fact that his name has occupied a prominent place for the past one hundred and forty years. The wide interest that Carver's work elicited and the hold it has kept despite all the attacks of critics have naturally aroused inquiry concerning his personal history. Yet, as John Thomas Lee says, "we know very little of Carver's early life."[1] Lee has done more than anyone else to correct the criticisms aimed at Carver and has with thoroughness gathered the material referring to him, but he recognizes, nevertheless, the mystery that shrouds the career of Carver.

One sketch, that of Judge Daniel W. Bond,[2] gives some items, the best account perhaps that has appeared. But it is in a little-seen volume, lacks much of importance to the picture, has inevitable slips, makes no reference to the author's sources of information, and has doubt thrown on it by the editor.

The accounts of Lee and Bond give practically everything so far known regarding the personal side of Carver's career. Yet even so primary a fact as the date of Carver's birth has not been hitherto known. To anyone acquainted with Connecticut it must seem incomprehensibly strange that such a man could have been bred there, and yet no traces of his life or lineage be discoverable.

[1] "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1909, 148.

[2] George Sheldon, *History of Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Deerfield, 1895), II, 101-104; Carver genealogy supplied by Judge Daniel W. Bond.

There remained one possible source of information that none of Carver's many commentators had exploited, viz., the various local archives that might shed light. From long familiarity with Connecticut and by the aid of friends the present writer has been able to find material that it is hoped will go toward establishing a correct view of Carver's origin and early surroundings.

Most later accounts point to Canterbury, Connecticut, as the place of the explorer's birth. It is therefore in order to turn to that town for possible facts. Though its early records are in part lost or scattered, facts relative to Carver have been found in the following still extant but unpublished records:

a. Town records in the present town clerk's office in Canterbury. Volume I of *Vital Records* is gone. Volume II does not begin until about 1750. Registry of early deeds seems also incomplete. Other town records, however, are well kept and indexed and prove useful.

b. Early probate records of Canterbury, now preserved at the Windham County courthouse in Willimantic.

c. Later probate records of that district, kept at the Plainfield town clerk's office in Central Village, Connecticut. These were examined but they yielded little prior to 1750.

d. Original record of the Canterbury Congregational Church, now in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford.

In addition there is some scattering material published in recent years, or otherwise accessible, from which information may be gleaned to supplement the facts derived from the records which have been noted as of major importance.

An outline of Carver's early career can best be presented by following genealogical lines, beginning with his father, David Carver ("Ensign David") of Canterbury, Connecticut. The "First Volume of Records of Town Acts, 1717—" discloses the following information:

Town meeting, Canterbury, Dec. 8, 1719. Amongst the officials chosen was "David Carver, leather sealer."

Dec. 20, 1720. David Carver chosen first selectman, and again leather sealer.

Dec. 29, 1720. "Town Meeting. * * * David Carver was chosen Moderator for the day."

Dec. 19, 1721. David Carver was again chosen moderator; also again first selectman for the year.

Town Meeting. "July the 4th 1722 Mr. Carver was chosen moderator for the day."

Dec. 11, 1722, Town Meeting. "Ensign David Carver" was chosen one of two "jurymen."[3]

Jan. 24, 1722/3. "Ensign David Carver" was chosen one of "a Committee to agree with a schoolmaster or masters to keep the school as aforesaid."

Town Meeting, Feb. 26, 1722/3 voted to David Carver a tract of land (the boundaries of which are detailed at length).

Apr. 30, 1723. Voted to "Ensign David Carver" a half share of "undivided land or commons."

Dec. 17, 1723. "Ensign David Carver, leather sealer," so chosen at town meeting. On the same day he was chosen one of a committee on a highway award.

Dec. 8, 1724. "Ensign David Carver" again chosen leather sealer.

Dec. 21, 1725. "General Town Meeting"; Mr. David Carver chosen moderator and again "leather sealer."

Dec. 6, 1726. Town Meeting; "Ensign David Carver" was again chosen "leather sealer."

His name then drops out of the records. But it is evident that in his few years in the young community Ensign David Carver was elected to a good share of the offices in the gift of the town. And as he was sufficiently domiciled by Decem-

[3] This may mean the same as Bond's statement that he was a deputy to the General Court.

ber, 1719 to take part in town meeting, it is clear that he must have arrived prior to this date. There is little to indicate his personal character, except that he was not a member of the local church; but his career can be outlined very well.

An entry in the original record of Canterbury Congregational Church runs as follows: "Dec. 16, 1722, bapt. Benjamin son of Ens. David Carver." As this church list of baptisms begins in 1711, but gives no other child born to him, it is a natural inference that any other children he may have had were born elsewhere.

ESTATE OF DAVID CARVER

The particulars which follow are gleaned from the old probate records at Willimantic (not to be confused with newer series). Only so far as they bear on the present subject are they here transcribed or summarized. While the style, chirography, and paper are old, the text can be made out satisfactorily.

Volume I, 1713-34, pp. 220-22. The appraisers' list of Nov. 9, 1727 is given at length—lands, buildings, and a long list of articles of the estate. Signed, "Solomon Pain, administrator." In volume I, part 2, p. 157-58 the distribution of the estate is thus recorded:

At a Court of Probate held in Plainfield February 13th, 1727-8 for ye County of Windham. Present Timothy Pierce Esq. Judge.
Mr. Solomon Pain adminstrator on ye estate of Ensign David Carver late of Canterbury deceased. Presented to ye Court an account of his administration on ye said estate which account and receipts was examined by which and ye inventory of ye sd deceased Estate It appears that ye whole estate inventoried with ye debts due to sd Estate amounts to ye sum of L 2118- 1½S and yt ye administrator hath paid out sundry debts and charges amounting to ye sum of L 81- 15 S 4′ w-th is by this Court allowed and that there is now remaining of ye sd deceased Estate ye sum or value of L 2036- 15S - 10′ to be distributed and divided.
Which this Court distributes as follows to wit to Mrs. Sarah Carver relick to sd deceased one 3d part of ye movable Estate of sd deceased which is the sum of L 122- 5S - 7′ at Inventory price to be hers forever.
And ye one 3d part of Real Estate during life wch is ye sum of L556- 13S - 4′ and unto Mr. Samuel Carver eldest son to sd deceased the sum or value of L 387 - 19S -0′ and into Jonathan Carver 2d son to sd

deceased the sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto David Carver 3d son to sd deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Benjamin Carver 4th son to sd deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Sarah Pain eldest daughter to said deceased ye sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′ and unto Hannah Carver second daughter to sd deceased the sum or value of L193- 19S- 6′—and This Court orders that ye above said daughters shall have their portion out of ye personal estate of sd deceased—so far as they can extend and this Court orders and appoints Capt. Joseph Adams Mr. Solomon Tracy and Mr. John Felch all of Canterbury to distribute and divide ye sd estate accordingly and to make return thereof to this Court and to be sworn before the next Justice and this Court appoints Mr. John Dyer of Canterbury guardian to ye above sd Jonathan Carver David Carver and Hannah Carver Jonathan Carver and David Carver desiring ye same for themselves and also this Court appoints Mr. Solomon Pain of sd Canterbury guardian to sd Benjamin Carver Bond being given by sd guardian as ye law directs.
And also this Court orders that if any thing hereafter should appear to be due to or from sd Estate Each one to be at their ratable part in paying or recovering ye same.

Test John Crory Clerk of Prob.

Volume I, p. 301. "Canterbury, Apr. 24, 1728 pursuant to the trust committed to the subscribers by the Honored Court of Probate &c. For the division of the estate of Mr. David Carver of said Canterbury for the County of Windham deceased, viz.—Was ordered by said Court as followeth namely of the said personall estate to the widow relict of the deceased an 3 part being 122 L.-s.-p. We have set out according to the best of our understanding in particulars as followeth. Imprimis."

Then follows a list, two and one-half pages long, of the distributed articles of the estate, stated to lie in part on the Quinebaug River. Next are specifications of three divisions of land. Widow's dowry of one-third stated.

Volume I, p. 305. "Saml. Carver the eldest son of said David" is given a tract of land.

"We have set out to Jonathan Carver 2^{d} son to the deceased a tract of land lying on the west side of the River bounded as followeth," &c.

To David Carver (3d son) a tract is also set out.

Volume I, p. 306. "Fifthly we have set out to Benjamin Carver fourth son to said David a tract of land," &c.

"Sixthly we have set out to Sarah Paine—daughter to said David a tract," &c.

"Seventhly we have set out to Hannah Carver youngest daughter to said David, a tract," &c.

Signed,—Adams,—Feltch, & Sallomon Tracy, "distributors under oath." July 26, 1729.

Volume I, p. 301. "A Court of Probate held in Plainfield, June the 10th, 1729, Mr. John Dyer of Canterbury appeared in court and acknowledged himself bound to the Treasurer of the County of Windham in a recognizance of three hundred pounds money—that had said John Dyer as guardian to and for Jonathan Carver, David Carver and Hannah Carver minor sons and daughter to Mr. David Carver of said Canterbury deceased. Will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts that shall hereafter appear to be due from the deceased estate." His first bond in February, 1728 was for L 500.

Volume I, p. 301. "A Court of Probate held in Plainfield, July the 8th 1729—Mr. Saml. Carver, eldest son to Mr. David Carver of Canterbury deceased, appeared in said Court and acknowledged himself bound to the Treasury of said County of Windham in a recognizance of two hundred pounds money that he—Will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts that shall hereafter appear to be due from the deceased estate."

"A Court of Probate held in Plainfield July the 8, 1729, Mr. Solomon Pain of Canterbury as Guardian for Benjamin Carver, minor son of Mr. David Carver of Canterbury deceased, appeared in the Court and acknowledged himself bound to the treasury of the said County of Windham in a recognizance of one hundred pounds money that he the said Pain as guardian to said minor will be as his ratable part in paying all such debts as shall hereafter appear to be due from the said deceased Estate." His earlier bond was for L 200.

The facts here first set forth are matters of legal record, established at the time and by those quite familiar with all the members of Ensign David Carver's family. They consequently furnish a sure basis from which to trace out the line of the Jonathan named therein, a key to the obscure parts of his history.

These records show that Ensign David Carver must have died between December 6, 1726 (when he was last elected to office) and November 9, 1727 (when his estate was appraised) and thus sufficiently corroborate the date given by Bond, viz., September 14, 1727. His estate appears to be recorded at greater length than any other of that period, indicating that he was a man of personal and financial importance, necessitating the appointment of administrator, appraisers, distributors, and guardians. The value of the estate, some $10,000, may not now seem very impressive, but for that time and place it represented a surprisingly large amount—more than David Carver could well have accumulated in his few years at Canterbury. For his day and generation he was a man of wealth.

Since Samuel Carver, the eldest son, was of age, it is certain that Jonathan, the second son, was approaching his majority though still a minor in 1729. As Ensign David does not appear in these records until 1719, and his fourth son was baptized in 1722, the fact that there were two children between the latter and Jonathan raises again a presumption that he was born before the family removed to Canterbury.

The following items bearing on the marriage of Jonathan Carver are found in the town records of Canterbury:

> Mary the daughter of Jonathan and Abigail Carver was born Apr. the 8th, 1747.
>
> Abigail the daughter of Jonathan and Abigail Carver was born May the 29th 1748.

These names and dates agree perfectly with those given by Bond for the first two children of Jonathan Carver of Franklin County, Massachusetts. The items afford sufficient corroboration also of Judge Bond's further statement that

his Jonathan Carver, the explorer, married Abigail Robbins October 20, 1746 in Canterbury. A list of Carver's children, correct in part and possibly in toto, is given by Bond.

The following evidence should convince even those who "prefer darkness to light" that the Jonathan Carver who lived at Canterbury, Connecticut, and Jonathan Carver the explorer, of Franklin County, Massachusetts, were one and the same individual:

a. The general recognition and acceptance by the Massachusetts local historians of the fact that their Jonathan Carver came from Canterbury, Connecticut. This conclusion is accepted by Lee and apparently by all other recent writers who have given special attention to the subject.

b. The existence of a very real Jonathan Carver at Canterbury, as the wise men of history have presumed, and the further fact that he dropped out of the Canterbury records just before the appearance of a Jonathan Carver in Franklin County, Massachusetts.[4]

c. The identity of Jonathan's two children born in Canterbury, Mary and Abigail, with the first two children of the Massachusetts Jonathan.

d. The general agreement alike of hostile and friendly critics that the explorer came from Connecticut, in conjunction with the un-Homeric fact that no other place in Connecticut has competed for him.

e. The fact that in 1770 at Montague, Massachusetts, a summer school was kept at Mrs. Abigail Carver's amongst others,[5] the name thus agreeing with that of Jonathan's wife in Canterbury earlier.

f. The direct testimony of the Rev. Samuel Peters that he knew the explorer to be from Canterbury, although as a "colossal liar" and "spiteful historian" little credence is placed in his unsupported word.

[4] Montague, Deerfield, and Northfield were all in Franklin County.

[5] Edward P. Pressey, *History of Montague* (Montague, Mass., 1910), 217.

Rarely can a personal item of two centuries ago be established more conclusively.

ORIGIN OF ENSIGN DAVID CARVER AND BIRTH OF JONATHAN, THE EXPLORER

The fact that Canterbury was not settled until shortly before 1700 shows that David removed here from some other place. Since Bond states that he married Hannah Dyer of Weymouth, Massachusetts, we naturally turn to that town's records for light on this point.

In the *Vital Records* of Weymouth[6] these entries are found:

> Jonathan, s. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Apr. 13, 1710.
> David, s. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Sept. 14, 1713.
> Hannah, d. of David & Hannah Carver, b. Oct. 25, 1717.

Since these names are identical with those of three of Ensign David Carver's children, are in the same chronological order, and since the dates of birth accord with the known facts concerning Ensign David's family, born at just the right period to conform, and furthermore since the parents' names agree with those given by Bond, it appears mathematically certain that they are identical.[7]

It is consequently certain that we have here the long sought date of birth of Jonathan Carver, the explorer, April 13, 1710. Various writers, critics as well as supporters, have inclined to place the explorer's birth before 1732, the date commonly assigned. Their guesses have ranged all the way back to "about 1712"—that of Bond. It follows from the same evidence that Carver was born at Weymouth, Massa-

[6] *Vital Records of Weymouth, Massachusetts* to 1850 (Boston, 1910), 70.

[7] The name Sarah, as the widow of David, given once in the settlement of the estate, does not negative this conclusion. While it might be due to any one of several reasons, the real explanation evidently is connected with the following fact: Of the twenty-one entries of births or baptisms in the family, as found recorded, in but one (that of Benjamin, last child of Ensign David) is there failure to include the mother's name. It is therefore apparent that something had happened to her before the entry was made.

chusetts. Since he passed most of his younger years in Connecticut it was natural for him to say he came from there.[8]

Other facts tending to confirm these conclusions are noted in the Weymouth town records and early deeds (the latter preserved in the registry of Suffolk County). At the town meeting of March 4, 1700 and subsequently David Carver was chosen tithingman; later constable; and then selectman. In 1712 he handed back to the town its stock of ammunition. In 1713, as a "householder," he received his share of a cedar swamp. In 1716 he took title to 15 acres at his mill pond. And on January 28, 1718 he sold his mill pond with 40 acres including "housing and building and grist mill thereon." From this date he seems to drop out of the Weymouth records. It can consequently be concluded that he left there soon after; this tallies with his advent in Connecticut.

This would account for his having property, as indicated above, before moving to Canterbury. Maturity of years, experience in town government, and the possession of means account also for his prompt participation in public affairs on settling in the frontier town.

Thus far in this paper every connecting link has been established by authentic contemporary records and the conclusions reached can fairly claim to be decisive. We may now consider some points of secondary importance, the evidence for which seems sound but possibly not in every respect as conclusive.

THE ANCESTRAL LINE OF ENSIGN DAVID CARVER

The names of three Carvers appear in the early annals of Massachusetts, only one of whom (Robert, 1594-1680) left a

[8] As Carver was seventeen years old at the death of his father, Lettsom's statement that he was fifteen is not far amiss. But his assignment of 1732 as the date of Carver's birth seems at first a strange error. Carver however made no statement of record as to his age. If he allowed a wrong impression to go out, the reasons are now a matter of probability rather than proof. It is easy to see one that is entirely sufficient to account for this. He was intently striving to organize and lead an expedition that should realize his dreams by going through to the Pacific. But his age, if stated correctly (he was in his sixtieth year on reaching England, and died at seventy), would militate seriously against gaining support. To meet this a large cut in his age was imperative.

male line. It is stated and with apparent correctness that all the subsequent Massachusetts Carvers of that period were descended from this Robert. Hence it can be concluded that Jonathan, the explorer, and his father, David, were of that stock, whether the line of descent can be made out in detail or not.

A plausible line of descent for our first David can be traced in the local histories of Marshfield, Massachusetts, an offshoot of Plymouth Colony.[9] John Carver, 1575-1621, the first governor of Plymouth Colony, left no Carver line. His brother Robert, however, (v. *supra*) settled at Marshfield as early as 1638 and had a son John (1637-79). This John Carver had a son David, born about 1668 (anyway nearer 1670 than 1663). He, Richards suggests, removed to "Connecticut, and became the ancestor of Jonathan Carver," the explorer.

Chronologically this David corresponds well with the first in Canterbury; and, as a collateral descendant of Governor Carver, it would explain in a way Dr. Lettsom's statement that the explorer was a descendant of an early governor. Jonathan Carver may have supposed that he was directly descended from the governor.[10] There is nothing to gainsay this line from Robert, and the only uncertainty is the lack of direct proof that its David was identical with the Weymouth-Canterbury David.

Since there were in all several David Carvers it may be well to differentiate those of possible interest:

[9] See Carver genealogy given by L. S. Richards, *History of Marshfield* (Plymouth, Mass., 1901-5), II, 160 ff. Also, more briefly, in Marcia A. Thomas, *Memorials of Marshfield* (Boston, 1854), 52-53.

[10] An old instance of this identical mistake is on record in connection with another branch of the family: "William Carver [oldest son of John, and grandson of the above Robert] died at Marshfield 1760, ae. 102, and is noticed by Gov. Hutchinson and Dr. Belknap in the biography of Gov. Carver as the grandson of the Governor" (from Mitchell's *History of Bridgewater, Massachusetts*, 1840, p. 363). In view of such an illustration and of the undeveloped state of genealogic lore in Carver's time, the statement in the text affords the most reasonable explanation of his ancestral claim.

a. Ensign David Carver; his career has been sufficiently discussed.

b. His third son, David, born Weymouth, 1713, elected "an inhabitant" by the town of Canterbury in 1736, married Susanna ———— in 1739, had seven children and appears to have remained there, as a daughter was baptised in 1758[11]; two sons took a deed in 1770,[12] and a son, Nathan, was married at Lisbon in 1770.

c. David, son of No. 2, born Canterbury, May 2, 1747.[13]

d. David, baptised December 21, 1730,[14] son of Jonathan's brother Samuel.

e. An uncertain David.[15]

YOUTH OF JONATHAN CARVER

More directly to establish the conditions under which the explorer passed his youth a word may be said of his dominant seniors. As he went with the family to Connecticut when about eight years old, he had the stimulus of a change of environment at an impressionable age. Any special formative influences were more likely to have been active after than before this removal. In view of Ensign David Carver's position in life it is evident that the boy, Jonathan, enjoyed whatever advantages, educational and otherwise, the resources of the community afforded.

Col. John Dyer, 1692-1779, guardian of young Jonathan, was also his maternal uncle. Mrs. David Carver (née Hannah Dyer, born Weymouth, February 13, 1684) "was a

[11] Original record of Canterbury Congregational Church.

[12] Later probate records of Canterbury, in Plainfield town clerk's office.

[13] Original record of Canterbury Congregational Church.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] The *History of Hingham, Massachusetts* (1893, III, 288) says a David Carver of Weymouth married Ruth Whitmarsh, December 14, 1696 (or December 16, 1696, according to a Whitmarsh pedigree). And the Weymouth *Vital Records* give a "Ruth, d. of David & Ruth Carver, b. Dec. 1, 1701," also a "Samuel, s. of David & Ruth Carver, b. Nov. 4, 1704." Whether this was an earlier marriage of Ensign David Carver is not material to the present story,—though there are reasons for thinking it was, in which case this daughter, born Ruth, was later called Sarah.

sister of Col. John Dyer of Canterbury, and Col. Thomas of Windham, both prominent in the affairs of Connecticut." They were grandsons of Thomas Dyer, settler in Massachusetts, and "moved to Windham County, Connecticut." The Dyers went to Connecticut before Carver and doubtless induced him to remove thither. Col. Thomas Dyer (1694-1766) was the father of Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, LL.D., a member of the Continental Congress and later chief justice of the state of Connecticut, own cousin of the explorer.[16]

Solomon Pain, 1698-1754, born in Eastham, Massachusetts, lived at Canterbury and was later minister of the Separatist Church there. He married Sarah Carver, eldest daughter of Ensign David, on March 2, 1720. She died August 9, 1731.[17] This Solomon, known also as Elder Pain, was the administrator of Ensign David's estate and guardian of his youngest son, Benjamin. Pain became widely known as a leader and organizer of the Separatist Church movement in Connecticut, perhaps the greatest religious schism that has ever stirred the old state. In discussing this movement the late A. A. Browning of Norwich says:[18] "Then came the notable contest at Canterbury concerning the Saybrook platform, in which Col. Dyer played a conspicuous part upon the one side and the brothers Solomon and Elisha Paine on the other."

These facts are mentioned to show that Carver was closely related to and in his younger years associated with men of more than local reputation. Canterbury has had some prominence for a small community, and these men were among her representative citizens.

To sum up: Carver came of able stock on both sides. His family had means. He enjoyed the best advantages the

[16] "History of Ancient Windham," by Wm. L. Weaver, in the Willimantic *Journal*, 1864-65.

[17] H. D. Paine (ed.), *Paine Family Records* (New York, 1880-83), I, 161. The name is spelled either with or without a final *e*.

[18] *Records and Papers of the New London County Historical Society*, II, 154. See also S. L. Blake, *The Separates or Strict Congregationalists of New England*, 1902.

time and place afforded. His nearest older relatives were men of influence and standing, large factors in the life and activities of a wide region.[19] Both phases of the biologic formula, heredity and environment, are duly typified.

DID CARVER STUDY MEDICINE?

It was a reason quite aside from the preceding presentation that turned the writer's attention to Carver. In connection with a paper on "Medical Explorers"[20] some question arose whether Carver had studied medicine. It was with the hope of settling this point that the foregoing material was gathered. Though the net result seemed worth publishing for its value otherwise, it has but a limited bearing on the moot question. Some facts and considerations however favor an affirmative answer.

Carver had plenty of time to study medicine, as now appears, between the death of his father and his own marriage. As his army and camp life was without doubt a large factor in qualifying him for exploring work, the casual possession of medical knowledge even at that period would have given him an added sense of preparedness. But the main evidence is the direct statement of Lettsom,[21] based, presumably, on remarks of Carver. It hence comes back in part to the degree of credence placed in this statement plus any corroboration which may be adduced.

The name of the place where Carver is said to have studied, "Elizabeth Town, in the same province," sounds very sug-

[19] To some writers it seems puzzling that Carver ever made or supplied a shoe. In point of fact any such incident only serves, if at all, further to identify him. His uncle, Col. Thomas Dyer, "was a shoemaker by trade," yet became a leading citizen (v. *The Dyar Family*, 1903, p. 7; also *supra*, note 16). Natural enough for the nephew to pick up the trade, and perhaps turn a hand at it on occasion. If he actually practiced it he must have been a captain of industry for 1754 to furnish twenty pairs at one call! It comes back to the difficulty of appreciating the conditions of early days. Even in the last century we find men of distinction who had toiled at the last. Moreover, the shoemaker before the machine-age ranked higher as an artisan and in the general estimation than he does at the present time.

[20] New York *Medical Record*, Oct. 28, 1918.

[21] Carver's *Travels* (London, 1781), 2.

gestively like Lisbon, the next town to Canterbury, where at that time lived Dr. Joseph Perkins (1704-94). Though the town was not incorporated until 1786, the name was in use long previously. Perkins graduated at Yale in 1728, started in practice soon after, and was thought "very eminent, both in medicine and surgery." One of his pupils was his own son, Dr. Elisha Perkins, famous in two continents as the originator of "metallic tractors" and "perkinism." He lived farther down on the same little river as Carver, the Quinebaug, and on the usual road to Norwich, then the nearest business center. It is certain that Carver must have known Perkins, at least in a general way.

Both from the statement that Carver gave up medicine for other activities and from the lack of any evidence that he practiced, it seems unlikely that he finished his medical studies. That he did some surveying, as indicated by Lee, would not be strange, as such work was done in early days by many medical men.

On the face of the evidence and in default of anything to the contrary the only fair conclusion is that he pursued medical studies for a time.[22]

[22] The writer wishes in closing to acknowledge indebtedness to the dozen and more probate and town clerk offices consulted in connection with this study. It has been a lesson in Americanism to experience such uniform courtesy.

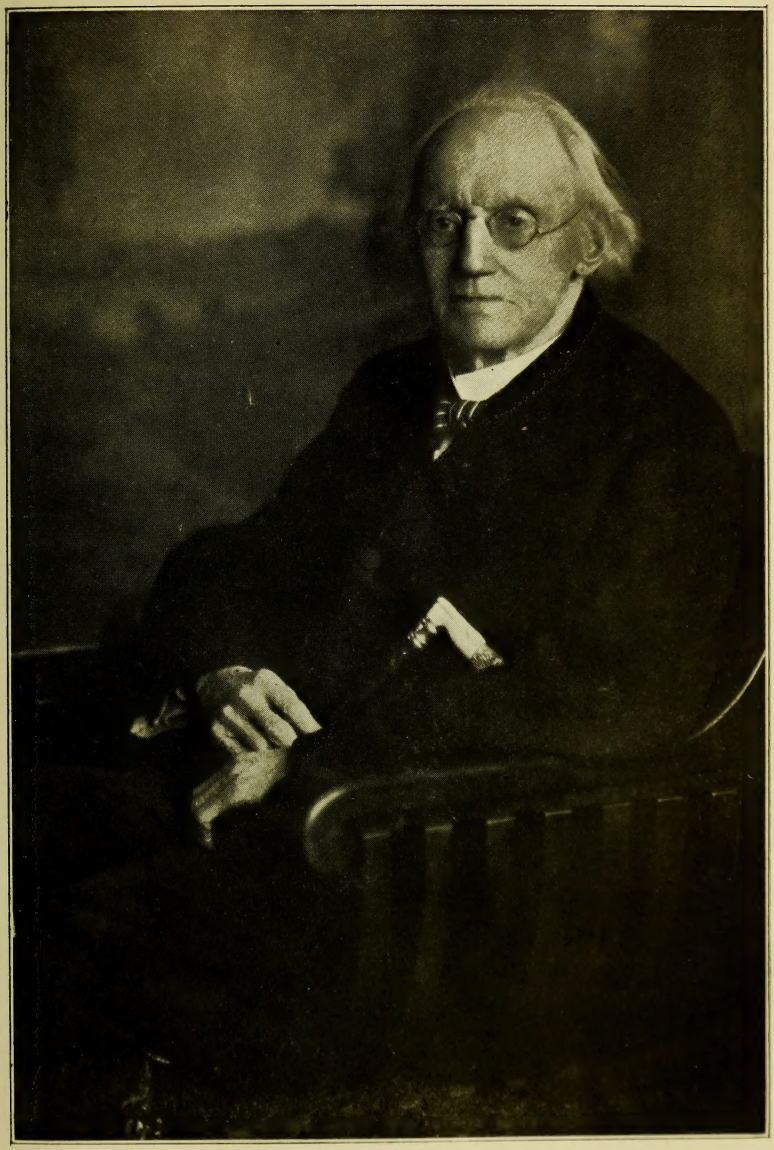
A PHYSICIAN IN PIONEER WISCONSIN

JOHN C. REEVE[1]

My residence in Wisconsin began with a temporary stay in Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago, while I looked about for a location. That portion of the state then presented two widely different conditions. Portions known as "oak openings" had scattered trees and parts approaching to, or really, prairies; the other, and the larger portion of the country, was heavily timbered. The former parts were already well-settled farms, opened and cultivated. The forest-covered portion was naturally behind in development; it required the heavy labor of clearing. My choice finally settled on a village in the wooded part of the country, a small village in Dodge County. In this village was a sawmill and a flour mill run by water power. Near by was a furnace for the reduction of a surface-deposit of iron-ore which existed a few miles away. There was a schoolhouse in the village, two small stores with stock of general merchandise, a postoffice, kept in the kitchen part of a log house (through this there was a mail once a week), but no church building or church organization. In the village were two or three very good families connected with the mills and the furnace, but the population was a mixture, some Germans, a good many from northern Ohio. The country around for miles was covered with woods. The Potawatomi Indians had been assigned to a reservation but had not yet been moved, and I often saw bands of them riding single file in silence through the forest.

The field of my choice was already occupied. Two men practicing medicine were in the village. One was a regular, a graduate. To him, of course, I was an unwelcome and an

[1] Reprinted by permission from *The Medical Pickwick* for October, 1919. This is the second installment of Dr. Reeve's life story published serially in that magazine.



JOHN CHARLES REEVE
(From a photograph in the Wisconsin Historical Library)

uncongenial neighbor. The other was an elderly man, an herb doctor, pursuing also other callings; he was an exhorter and carpenter as well as practitioner. Sometimes all his varied callings came into service, as may be well imagined in a new country. On one occasion a settler in clearing his land threw a tree across his cabin, fatally injuring his wife. The doctor attended her until she passed away, then made her coffin, and finished by preaching her funeral sermon. The old man was very firm in his botanic orthodoxy and proud of it. Once he assured me in manner and tone that enforced conviction that he never administered any mineral medicine except the iron in the "cast steel" soap used in making pills!

Here, then, provided with an Indian pony and saddlebags, I began practice and faced the trials, the privations, and the hardships of pioneer life. There was no delay in their making their appearance. Straw for a bed was an immediate and pressing necessity. No straw was to be obtained except from a farm out in the open country. No conveyance was to be had. So, in company with a neighbor who was in like necessity, I set out for the straw. We slung it beneath a pole, one end of which rested on a shoulder of each, and thus carried the required amount a distance of three miles.

The inconvenience, the difficulty, and the fatigue of getting about in this undeveloped country cannot be exaggerated; sometimes they entailed positive hardship. Roads there were none, although in two directions there were what were called such, the trees having been cut away and some of the stumps removed. They were but mud-ways, and for the most part I rode through wagon-tracks from one clearing to another. Of course, as time passed improvements were being constantly made and conditions were changing for the better. But in the early part of my career the difficulties of getting about were indescribably bad. Once I had to follow a blaze-mark in order to reach a settler's cabin. Twice I was lost—in the daytime, however—and I suffered only a few hours'

delay. On one occasion, however, and that not at a very early period, I was not so fortunate. I was called just after night to go some miles to render service to a man said to have been injured in a fight. Part of my way was by a wheel-track through thick woods. I had traveled this path many times and did not dream of any trouble, but my pony, in the darkness, following the habits of her kind, browsed right and left from the bushes, and soon I found that I was out of the track—lost! In vain I tried to regain the path; in vain I essayed to keep a direct course in any one direction. I could not see the stars and so could get no help from the heavens! When tired in my efforts to find my way, I groped to a sapling, tied my horse to it, took off the saddle, and passed a drizzly September night as best I could. When morning came I got out readily and reached home hatless!

Scarcity of money was a constant and most trying inconvenience; settlers in a new country have pressing demands for every dollar. They have to pay for their land, buy seed, procure agricultural implements and articles for housekeeping. So it was with the greatest difficulty that money enough could be procured for the purchase of things indispensable, such as medicines. Of food there was a supply, but very limited as to variety; canned goods were not then in the market; marsh-hay for my horse was procurable, and so was lumber with which to build shelter for her; sometimes an order on one of the stores was received, but of money there was next to none. My cash receipts during my first year's practice amounted to sixty-eight dollars and some cents.

Some of my professional experience during my residence here is worthy of record. I passed through two epidemics of smallpox, the first very severe. The disease was brought from a neighboring county by settlers who came to the flour mill. How often have I wished for the photograph of a certain young woman who died of this disease, for the benefit of anti-vaccinationists—her face a solid mass of crusts,

cracked by seams through which pus welled up, swollen so that the eyes could not be seen, and the nose scarcely visible—she was a horrible and revolting sight. One man of the village volunteered to go with me and bury her. We went to the house, put her in the coffin, and made together a funeral procession to the prepared grave.

One case early in the first epidemic deserves a more minute record for its unique character, for its short duration—a little over thirty hours—in which death took place, for the detrimental influence it had on my reputation, and for other reasons. A young man employed in the mill, of good habits, and in the prime of life, was taken suddenly with most atrocious pains in the back and most violent vomiting. I was quite at a loss as to the nature of the case and confessed my ignorance. An express was sent for a consultant, who lived about twenty miles away—a young man, graduate of a New England college. He arrived about two hours after death had taken place. The body was in the position just as the man had died, lying on one side. By this time a deep discoloration had appeared on all the dependent parts of the body. Across the face no more clearly marked line could have been drawn by a ruler, separating the upper from the dependent portion, which was of dark purple hue. The case was pronounced, by the consultant, to be one of erysipelas. In vain I protested that there was no discoloration before death, that the deep purple hue did not correspond with the bright red coloring of erysipelas. The verdict was against me and I suffered the consequence. "What a pity that our young doctor did not know a case of erysipelas!" I knew nothing then of death from smallpox before the appearance of the eruption, but I had had an attack of erysipelas myself and knew that disease. Besides, I had been drilled in Williams' *Principles of Medicine*. In that book there was a chapter on the different modes in which death takes place. One mode was designated as death by "necraemia"—death by disorgani-

zation and dissolution of the blood. This case was, then, I was sure, a death by necraemia, although I did not dream, at the time, that this decomposition of the blood could be produced by the poison of variola, nor have I found anything since about it in the books. However, I have known of two cases of sudden death in an epidemic, which took place before the time for appearance of the eruption had arrived, but I have never seen another such a case, nor another so well-marked a case of death by necraemia.

A most singular fact, and one to me without explanation or attempted explanation, is the great difference between the virulence of smallpox in the early period of my practice and that of later years. I have not known of it for a long time other than as a mild disease, dreaded mostly for its contagiousness. This modification adds to the difficulty of control of epidemics, from the greater difficulty of an early diagnosis; it so nearly resembles varicella or chicken pox.

I may and very probably will expose myself to ridicule by going back in history three hundred years to enter a controversy as to the cause of death of a member of the royal family of France. To attempt to draw a parallel between a death in a village in the wilderness of Wisconsin and one in the palace of Versailles is bold, perhaps an overbold attempt. But I make the attempt and accept the consequence. My warrant for doing so is that the death in France is one of great historic interest; its cause has been the subject of controversy between historians and still remains unexplained. Its suddenness and the violence of the symptoms preceding it gave rise to the belief of poisoning, casting grave suspicions upon persons of the highest standing.[2]

The death was that of Henrietta of England, daughter of Charles I, sister-in-law of Louis XIV. There is no improbability in the death being one from variola, the disease

[2] See Littré, "Henriette d'Angleterre, est elle morte empoissonnée?" in *Medicine et Medecins*, Paris, 1872.

prevailing everywhere in those times and sometimes with great virulence. Too often had pale death *(pallida mors)* in the hideous guise of smallpox entered the portals of the palace, as history records. Then the facts sustain the argument. They furnish strong support: the sudden attack, the excruciating pains, the violent vomiting, the early death, only nine hours after the attack began—all these support my position. Littré makes a labored argument in favor of simple ulcer of the stomach, with perforation and resultant peritonitis. I challenge a comparison of views. Bossuet's funeral oration over the remains of the royal personage is one of the masterpieces of French literature.

Toward the end of the second year of my practice I encountered a case which put me on my mettle, which called forth all my resolution, and the successful issue of which exerted a powerful influence in shaping my future course and in developing my powers. Called to a farm where the first grain crop was being garnered, I found a stalwart Irishman with an arm mangled to the elbow in the threshing machine. Here was a situation and a dilemma. It was then nightfall, the man nearest who had a reputation for surgery lived thirty miles away. That was a journey requiring all the next day; then a stay over night, and another day's journey back. Then, too, the surgeon might not be at home, for he was in demand over a wide range of territory. Meantime, what would become of the patient? There was but one course to pursue to save his life—immediate amputation. For this I was not at all prepared. An improvised tourniquet is a simple matter; for instruments I had only those of a pocket case. But the operation must be performed and it was. I still have the finger bistoury which I used, while a carpenter's sash saw rendered service. For assistant I had a man who had been sent for in another direction. He had never seen chloroform administered, so when the patient began to snore under its influence he became frightened, and I had to stop the operation

several times to direct him. The operation was successfully completed, and the man survived. I am sure that if any professional brother who reads this will reflect a moment he will not envy me that night's repose on the puncheon floor of the little cabin, my saddle-bags for a pillow. I had never performed an operation on the cadaver nor assisted at one on the living subject. I had never tied an artery in an open wound; and I lay there, dreading every moment a call to arrest hemorrhage.

I could relate many more dramatic incidents of my early professional life, but what have been given must suffice. The conditions prevailing at that period throughout a large section of our country cannot but be of interest. These can best be shown by giving the itinerary of a journey made in January, 1852. Called to Cleveland by the critical illness of a sister, I left home on a Sunday morning in a sleigh, a private conveyance, and reached Milwaukee, about fifty miles away, that night. From there, on runners, to Chicago. Thence, some thirty miles by Michigan Central Railroad, and then by vehicle across to the Southern Michigan at that time building from Toledo to Chicago. The appointments of the road were not yet made, so several times the train stopped, the passengers alighted and chopped fence rails to make fuel for the locomotive. From Toledo, on wheels, to a point on the railroad from Sandusky to Cincinnati, where a vehicle was taken to the railroad from Columbus to Cleveland; I think the place was Galion. I reached my destination just at dark on Saturday night; I had traveled during the whole week, passing but two nights in bed.

I made another journey to Cleveland in summer time, took a private examination, and received my degree. My diploma bears that date, 1853. By this I have no class affiliation.

With pen and ink it is impossible to convey an idea of the dreariness, the isolation, and the dullness of life in my chosen

village. Absolutely deprived of professional companionship, and with little of any other kind, traveling over wretched roads through the intense cold of winter and the storms of summer, bearing as best might be the innumerable privations of domestic life, the dreary time dragged slowly away, week by week, month by month, varying only with the changing seasons. The one enlivening ray of life was the ardently looked-for, the eagerly-welcomed, weekly mail day. The only connection I had with the professional world was a medical journal from Boston. I subscribed for that—the only one I then knew of—as soon as I was able, and in doing so went directly contrary to the advice of my old preceptor. He opposed the reading of medical journals by young practitioners—it made them unsound in doctrine and variable in practice! For reading, I had a small collection of medical books procured on credit through the kindness of friends, and there were the weekly newspaper and letters by mail, and I received also the early numbers of *Harper's Monthly,* just then making its appearance. I also read *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* little dreaming the force the book would exert in promoting a movement which should shake the structure of our government to its very foundation.

The pleasure I experienced in having, in 1853, an opportunity to sell my practice needs no emphasis. I left for the East in pursuit of further professional improvement—of post-graduate instruction. Vain pursuit! I was chasing a mirage, always attracting, constantly receding, ever elusive, never attained!

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

Louise Phelps Kellogg

CHAPTER V—FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN TERRITORIAL TIMES

Wisconsin is noted throughout the Union as the home of a large number of Americans of foreign origin. According to the census of 1910 those of either foreign birth or parentage outnumber the native-born more than three to one. During the territorial period, however, Wisconsin was largely peopled by the native-born. The census of 1850 showed 197,000 of the latter to 107,000 born abroad. Moreover a large proportion of the latter class arrived during the first two years of statehood. It is, however, safe to estimate that during the territorial period of Wisconsin's history at least 60,000 found their way to her borders from the Old World. These were almost entirely from the countries of northern Europe. Leaving out of consideration the immigrants from Canada, most of whom were but a few years removed from European residence, the Europeans who came to Wisconsin between 1836 and 1848 were almost evenly divided between English-speaking and foreign-language groups. The British Isles contributed about one-half of the foreign-born territorial population; among these fully one-half were Irish, a few were Welsh and Scotch, and a large number Cornish.

The settlements of the English and the Irish are difficult to trace, because as a rule they came as individuals or families rather than as colonies. We have noted in a previous chapter some English coöperative enterprises that brought groups of settlers to the territory. Many English families settled during the territorial period in the southeastern counties, particularly in Racine, Kenosha, and Walworth. They

came largely from the small proprietor class, bought land, lived frugally, prospered, and soon blended indistinguishably with the "Yankees" from New England and New York.[26]

The Irish were more clannish, and some distinct areas of settlement may be traced. They belonged as a rule to the Catholic Church; thus the earlier organizations of that body often afford evidence of Irish dwellers. The first Irish residents of Wisconsin were those who came to the lead mines either as miners or purveyors for the frontier settlements. Thus many of the Irish families of the state are found in Green and Iowa counties. As a rule, however, the people of this nationality sought the lakeboard counties. Green Bay had a considerable Irish population that came in early days, while Rockland, Morrison, and Glenmore townships of Brown County were almost wholly settled by Irish farmers. Milwaukee was also a favorite residence for these immigrants; by 1847 there were 2,500 sons of Erin in the city, most of whom lived in the Third, usually known as the Irish ward. From Milwaukee a number of small Irish settlements stretched northward along the lake coast to Washington, Ozaukee, and Sheboygan counties. In the first was a township called Erin settled in 1841. A small settlement in Cedarburg Township was known as New Dublin; while Random Lake, Russell, and Mitchell townships of Sheboygan County were chiefly populated by Irish immigrants. Dane, Jefferson, Dodge, and Columbia counties likewise secured many Irish settlers. In Dodge there was by 1845 an Irish Catholic church at Fox Lake. Emmet Township was named by the compatriots of the Irish martyr, Robert Emmet, while in Clyman and Lowell townships Irish farmers predominated until after 1845. Watertown, likewise, was much liked by the Irish, but here as well as in Dodge, Washington, Ozaukee, and Sheboygan counties the Irish maintained a precarious

[26] For a typical English family settlement in Wisconsin Territory see M. M. Quaife, *An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin, Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XXV.

hold when once the great German immigration set in. In Dane County the Irish have for the most part kept their farms. Burke, Westport, Cross Plains, and Fitchburg townships were largely settled by this nationality, while Medina Township is the home of a group of Irish Protestants. Many of these Dane County settlers were wealthy and prominent, highly educated, members of the learned professions. Madison has had a considerable Irish element of this kind since early territorial days. In Walworth County, Lyons Township was first settled by the Irish, and numbers of that race were found in Mukwonago Township of Waukesha County and in the city of Racine. The Irish immigrants quickly showed their capacity for political action. Both constitutional conventions had members who were born in Ireland. They also represented constituencies in every territorial legislature. In 1850 there were 21,043 natives of Ireland living in Wisconsin, of whom three-fourths or more came during territorial days.

The Welsh element in Wisconsin's early population was much smaller than the Irish. These people usually settled in colonies and while not clannish or separatistic in feeling they were very tenacious of Old World customs and even of the language of their forefathers. Three well-defined groups are to be noted outside of Milwaukee, where a considerable number of the early Welsh immigrants gathered. One, perhaps the largest of the three groups, was in Columbia County, the northeast township of which was almost wholly settled by the Welsh, who called their village center Cambria. This colony has spread into the neighboring townships of Dodge County, has a settlement at Elba, and a church at the city of Fox Lake. In Cambria was celebrated for many years the annual eisteddfod or musical festival of the Welsh race. This settlement was begun in 1845, and most of its members came from northern Wales. By 1843 a considerable group of Welsh immigrants had taken up land in Genesee Town-

ship, Waukesha County, and in that year a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist church was built. This settlement has since much enlarged, overflowing into the southern part of Delafield Township. The railway station which serves this group on the Chicago and Northwestern road is called Wales. Most of the Welsh of the lead-mining counties came from South Wales and were miners in the Old World. They are scattered over the three counties of Grant, Lafayette, and Iowa, being especially strong in the latter near Mineral Point and Dodgeville. In the same county the river townships Arena and Wyoming contain many Welsh. In 1850 there were 4,300 Welsh among us.

The sturdy Scotch stock has also contributed its share to our commonwealth's growth. The largest and most influential Scotch colony is in Milwaukee, where George Smith, Alexander Mitchell, David Ferguson, and John Johnston did so much from territorial days onward to build up sound financial institutions.[27] Scotch immigrants settled in Kenosha and Racine counties; in the latter three townships, Caledonia, Dover, and York, were largely farmed by them. Green Lake County had a small Scotch colony, while the name of Caledonia Township of Columbia County indicates the nativity of its first settlers. In 1850 there were 3,527 Scotch-born in Wisconsin, many of whom came during the territorial days.[28]

Very large and very important in its contribution to the upbuilding of the commonwealth was the Cornish immigration, which began as early as 1827 but was of small proportions until after the Black Hawk War in 1832. The cause of this migration was almost wholly economic, small wages in the Cornwall mines making it difficult for the heads of households to provide for their large families. The rumors of the richness of the Wisconsin mines and of large wages for operatives had

[27] "Alexander Mitchell, the Financier," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 435-50.

[28] James A. Bryden, "The Scots in Wisconsin," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1901, 153-58.

a strong influence in Camborne, where tin mines were being worked out and wages ranged from $13 to $15 per month. There was also the hope of becoming proprietors in America, which was quite beyond the possibility of any workman in Cornwall no matter how industrious and frugal he might be. The earliest Cornish immigrants settled near Shullsburg, Mineral Point, and Dodgeville. After 1836 the stream of these mining newcomers grew in volume, increasing with each year until 1849, when it was diverted to California. In all about 7,000 Cornishmen settled in Wisconsin and added much to the growth and development of the southwest. Physically sturdy, with large families, industrious, frugal, and religious, their cramped circumstances in Cornwall had made them illiterate and clannish, but in the New World they expanded quickly. They patronized schools and churches; many of their number filled the minor offices of local government; while their children have become leaders in education and progressive politics. Several of their number represented the southwestern counties in the legislature, and when the test of patriotism presented itself, they cheerfully enlisted in the Union army. Of all the English-speaking foreigners that came to Wisconsin during territorial days, none have been more helpful in upbuilding the commonwealth than the Cornish.[29]

The foreign-speaking Europeans that settled in Wisconsin during the territorial era were from Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Norway. The first of these furnished the largest share of the foreign-born population and in certain portions of the territory constituted foreign communities which have had much influence on Wisconsin's destinies.

Germans were induced to leave their homes in Europe for religious, economic, and political reasons. Some of the earliest German groups in Wisconsin were religious com-

[29] Louis A. Copeland, "The Cornish in Southwest Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XV, 301-34.

munities which migrated to escape state persecution in the Old World.[30] These religious groups came from north Germany to America under the care of their pastors. A bad harvest year throughout Germany in 1846, with the threat of famine, sent many southern and Rhenish Germans to America. The well-known political emigration did not occur until 1848, after Wisconsin had become a state. Nevertheless, the presence of a large body of compatriots in Wisconsin was one of the inducements that brought the intellectuals of Forty-eight into our midst.

Wisconsin was selected as a place of residence by the emigrating Germans largely because its climate, products, and natural features corresponded to their home environment. Some of the earliest Wisconsin settlers were active in promoting immigration thither, sending back letters and printed pamphlets urging Wisconsin's claims. A few Germans settled in Milwaukee during the first territorial years, but it was not until 1839 that the first large colony arrived. They brought gold to purchase lands; and their arrival was a boon to the community, which was still struggling with the financial depression that had begun in 1837. This first German colony bought a large tract of land in Washington County, established a church, and cleared the soil for farms. Others of the same faith, the Old Lutheran, soon followed and settled in Washington, Ozaukee, and Dodge counties. The Germans liked the hardwood tracts and took up the lands avoided by Americans as difficult to clear. For this reason they filled in the counties along the lake shore and back towards the center of the state. By 1845, 250,000 acres had been sold to immigrant Germans. The south and Rhineland Germans began coming to Wisconsin about the year 1840, settling west of Milwaukee in Milwaukee and Waukesha counties and gradually filling in the vacant lands in Dane

[30] Wm. F. Whyte, "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1915, 99-110.

and Jefferson counties. By 1847 Manitowoc, Sheboygan, Calumet, Outagamie, Green Lake, and Marquette counties had received large accessions of German population. In Ozaukee seven-eighths and in Washington two-thirds of the inhabitants are of German stock. During the early years it is estimated that in the open navigation months from two to three hundred Germans a week landed at Milwaukee, and by 1844 this number had risen to 1,000 or 1,400 per week.

Nearly all the early German immigrants to Wisconsin were farmers, and their contribution to the state's agricultural growth has been immense. The lands they bought they improved by constant industry, women and children working side by side with the men to develop the farms. They farmed more scientifically than the average American, rotating crops and conserving the land. They also appreciated the forests and kept woodlands for the benefit of themselves and the community. Few Germans sold any land they once possessed, and the poor renters saved assiduously in order to purchase a small piece for themselves. In manufactures the Germans turned their attention chiefly to brewing and tanning. Many of the large fortunes of Milwaukee have been made in these industries that had their beginnings in territorial days. The German contribution to the intellectual and social life of Wisconsin has been characteristic. In music and some forms of art they excel. They appreciate education but are tenacious of their old country ideals; the church communities maintain separate schools and encourage the use of the German language.[31] In politics the early Germans were imbued with democratic ideals; consequently they were almost all members of the Democratic party. Not until the slavery issue grew acute did the Germans enter politics as a factor; then they were largely on the side of the Liberty, Free-soil, and Republican parties.[32] Three members in the first constitu-

[31] Louise P. Kellogg, "The Bennett Law in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Sept. 1918, 3-25.

[32] Ernest Bruncken, "The Political Activity of Wisconsin Germans, 1854-60," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1901, 190-211.

tional convention and one in the second were Germans. The German press during the territorial period consisted of the *Wisconsin Banner* published at Milwaukee in 1844 by Moritz Schoeffler; and the *Volksfreund,* an opposition paper begun in 1847. In 1850 the census reported 36,064 Germans in Wisconsin.

The Dutch element in Wisconsin was small during territorial days, numbering but 1,157 in 1850. The largest colony of settlers from Holland was in the southeast township of Sheboygan County where in 1845 several Dutch families settled. Upon their recommendation others emigrated in 1846; and in 1847 a considerable company came under the leadership of the Reverend Peter Zonne. The principal village was called Amsterdam. Father T. J. Van den Broek came in 1834 as a missionary to Wisconsin; some time later he settled at Little Chute on Fox River; in 1847 he made a visit to his old home in Holland, where he induced a large number of his friends and neighbors to emigrate. The first arrivals came in the summer of 1848 and bought land in what is now Holland Township of Brown County.[33] The Dutch are mostly agriculturists and have aided in the development of the dairy interests in Wisconsin. Some add to their support by fishing in Lake Michigan and by shipping their cattle to the large cities.

Both French- and German-Swiss were among the immigrants to Wisconsin in preterritorial and territorial days. French-Swiss came to the lead region before the establishment of the territory, either directly from the old country or from the Selkirk settlement on the Red River of the North. Among these were the Gentil, Gratiot, and Chetlain families. The Rodolfs, one of whose number had been president of the Swiss republic, settled in 1834 in Lafayette County. Several Swiss families settled during territorial days in southeastern

[33] C. A. Verwyst, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings,* 1916, 148-65.

Fond du Lac County and at Madison. One of the earliest settlers of Buffalo County in 1842 was a Swiss, who was later followed by others of his nationality. A number of German-Swiss families came as part of Count Haraszthy's colony to Sauk County; their descendants are now living in Troy, Honey Creek, and Prairie du Sac townships. The largest Swiss colony in the state is at New Glarus and in its vicinity in Green County. This group was sent out in 1845 by the canton of Glarus because of its overpopulation; the passage of those who emigrated was paid; their land was bought by the cantonal authorities. Although all organic relation with the home country long ago ceased, the colony for many years remained essentially Swiss, speaking the German-Swiss dialect and maintaining the customs of the motherland.[34] The success of the settlers of New Glarus resulted in the emigration of more of their countrymen to Wisconsin, so that the neighboring townships of Washington, York, Monroe, Mount Pleasant, and Sylvester in Green County, and Primrose and Montrose in Dane County are largely owned and farmed by Swiss people. Dairying and cheese making are their principal industries.[35] Sheep, for their wool, are also pastured on the hills of Green County. In 1850 there were 1,244 Swiss residents in Wisconsin; they and their descendants have contributed to its wealth by their industry and thrift; they have also aided the commonwealth in the maintenance of democratic ideals.

The migration of the men of Norway to America reads like an epic from their early sagas. The earliest colony, founded in New York State in 1825, was composed of those who fled for conscience' sake to the New World. The first Wisconsin Norwegians were the Nattestad brothers who explored Rock Prairie in 1838. However, before the colony

[34] Several articles on the Swiss of New Glarus are in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 411-45; XII, 335-82; XV, 292-337.

[35] John Luchsinger, "History of a Great Industry," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1898, 226-30.

brought out by Ansten Nattestad in 1839 had arrived, another group of Norwegians landed at Milwaukee, intending to pass on to northern Illinois. At Milwaukee, however, the colonists were persuaded to change their destination. They bought lands on Muskego Lake in Waukesha County, and although they removed the next year to Norway Prairie in Racine County, the group has ever since been known as the Muskego Colony. New accessions added to their number and importance; in this locality was published in 1847 the first Norwegian newspaper in the United States. When the Civil War began the Norwegian regiment that took its place among Wisconsin's ranks was commanded by Colonel Hans Heg, son of the chief settler of Muskego Colony. In the meanwhile the pioneers who had followed Ansten Nattestad to Rock County settled in Clinton and Turtle townships. A few of their number went farther west and chose land in Newark, Avon, Spring Valley, and Plymouth townships, while others crossed the state line into northern Illinois. The descendants of this group now own about one-third of the land in Rock County and are a prosperous and progressive people. These two latter groups constitute the Jefferson and Rock Prairie settlements.

The largest, strongest, and most prosperous groups of Norwegian settlers in Wisconsin are found in Dane County; their migration to this region, beginning in 1840, continued with accelerating numbers throughout the territorial period. The first settlers bought land in southeastern Dane County on Koshkonong Creek, and the entire area is thus known as the Koshkonong settlement. It extends eastward into the adjacent townships of Jefferson County and embraces most of Albion, Christiana, Deerfield, Dunkirk, Pleasant Springs, and Cottage Grove townships. Its earliest church, the first Norwegian church in America, was built in 1844 in Christiana Township. The city of Stoughton is almost entirely peopled by Norwegians. The second Dane County area includes the

northern townships of Vienna, Windsor, and Bristol, with the northern part of Burke and the eastern edge of Westport. The first settlers in this region came in 1844; after 1846 the settlement developed rapidly. The commercial center is called Norway Grove; De Forest and Morrisonville are almost wholly Scandinavian villages. In 1844 the western Dane County Norwegians began coming largely from the older colonies to Blue Mounds Township. This group occupies Springdale, Blue Mounds, Primrose, Perry, and Vernon townships and finds its commercial center at Mount Horeb.

Lafayette County has a considerable Norwegian population near Wiota. A small group of miners settled there in 1840; the agricultural immigration began about 1842; and two years later a Norwegian Lutheran church was built, which is now one of the oldest in Wisconsin. In Jefferson County Scandinavians are found in two localities. In Sumner Township on the western border a Norwegian family was the second to open a farm; during the territorial period the Koshkonong settlement expanded over this and the neighboring Oakland Township. A few Swedes likewise settled in this locality. In the southeastern part of Jefferson County the so-called Skoponong settlement expanded from Walworth County through the southern part of Palmyra Township. This little settlement, formed in 1844, was the childhood home of Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota. Other groups in Walworth County were on Heart Prairie in Whitewater, La Grange, and Richmond townships, and upon Sugar Creek, near Elkhorn and Delavan. All these settlements were begun during the middle forties.

The Waukesha County settlement (aside from the early Muskego group) of Norwegians began in 1841 on Pine Lake when Gustaf Unonius settled there and when in 1843 fifty families came from Norway and bought homes in Delafield, Merton, Summit, and Oconomowoc townships. This settlement was connected with Nashotah Seminary, several

of its young men becoming Episcopal clergymen. The entire group was more rapidly Americanized than those of the other settlements.

Columbia County received a considerable accession of Norwegian immigrants during the middle forties, an overflow for the most part of the colony in northern Dane County. In 1844 one family settled in Lodi Township, which within three years received several additional families. Spring Prairie in Hampton Township was settled in 1845; Bonnet Prairie of Otsego Township was almost entirely purchased by Norwegians, who came mostly from the Koshkonong settlement. Leeds and Columbus townships have likewise some Norwegian families. The large Scandinavian settlements in Waupaca, Waushara, Portage, and Winnebago counties were but just begun during the territorial period. In 1850 there were 8,651 Norwegian residents in Wisconsin.

As appears from this record the Norwegians were almost entirely an agricultural people upon their advent to Wisconsin; their largest contribution has been in opening land for cultivation. Mining, lumbering, and manufacturing were for them casual occupations during the territorial period. In more recent years their contribution to other industries, especially to manufactures, has been more marked. Their part in the intellectual life of the commonwealth has been considerable, although they cling tenaciously to the language and literature of their forefathers, in which many have a high degree of culture. In politics the Norwegians have generally been Republican; they have had their share of state and local offices, one of their nationality serving in the second constitutional convention.[36]

The other foreign-language immigrants to Wisconsin—Armenians, Belgians, Bohemians, Danes, Finns, Hungarians, Icelanders, Italians, Poles, Russians, and Swedes—have come

[36] Rasmus B. Anderson, "First Norwegian Settlements in America," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings* 1898, 150-67; Albert O. Barton, "Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," *Ibid.*, 1916, 186-212.

in under the state government. Wisconsin as much as any other commonwealth of the Union has served as a melting pot for the new American. It is perhaps significant that the first professional chair of Americanization has been established at our state university. Still more significant are the honor rolls of Wisconsin men in the European War. Foreign names are there in abundance, frequently in preponderance, but their owners were inspired by a common ideal, serving a common cause, loving one flag and one country. Americans all, they have offered their blood and their sacrifice for the country of their birth or of their adoption. Henceforth immigrants to Wisconsin may be "foreigners," but citizens of Wisconsin are all Americans.

(To be continued)

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

W. A. Titus

II: THE FOND DU LAC TRADING POST AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

On thy fair bosom, silver lake,
The wild swan spreads his snowy sail.—Percival.

It would be of interest to the student to know the name of the first white man to reach the Fond du Lac region, but the question must remain unanswered. It is not unlikely that the early French explorers visited the farthest end of the lake of the Winnebago to satisfy themselves as to the shape and extent of so considerable a body of water. Perhaps away back in 1634, when Jean Nicolet came to Wisconsin as an ambassador to the Winnebago Indians, he voyaged to the southern end of the lake in his search for a navigable inlet, but if so, he left no record of his observations. It is probable that early traders frequently visited the Indian villages in the Fond du Lac region, although it is not until 1787 that we find recorded the names of these daring adventurers who were willing to push on a few leagues in advance of civilization.

The Indian name for the Fond du Lac region was "Winne-o-me-yah." When the traders first came the Winnebago tribe had two villages in the vicinity: one on the east branch of the river near the place where the malt house now stands, and one on the west branch just below the Forest Avenue bridge. The first trading post was located on the east bank of the Fond du Lac River at the forks. Laurent Ducharme was the first trader whose name has been preserved, the period of his occupation being somewhere between 1785 and 1787. In 1788 a Spanish trader named Ace[1] occupied the post at the forks of the river; with him were his wife and children and his

[1] Recollections of Augustin Grignon in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, 264-65.

clerk. This is the first record we have of a white woman at the Fond du Lac post. The Indians of the Winnebago village, Sar-ro-chau, located where Taycheedah now stands, were always friendly to the whites. The Winnebago of the Rock River villages, however, were generally hostile. One day a band of these under their chief, Pakan, came into the vicinity and enticed Ace and the clerk some distance away from the cabin, whereupon both were immediately slain by the savages. The band then attempted to capture the trading post, but Mrs. Ace, being well armed, defended her children and her property until the friendly Indians from Taycheedah came to her assistance and escorted her back to the Green Bay settlement. Pakan escaped punishment for this crime; Augustin Grignon states that he frequently saw the old chief around the Fond du Lac post in 1801.

The next trader we hear of at this post was a Canadian named Chavodreuil,[2] who had with him two clerks. A Menominee Indian named Thunder, who had his wigwam near the post, became jealous of Chavodreuil, possibly with sufficient reason; consequently this trader soon met the fate of his predecessor. Punishment was rarely meted out to Indian murderers at this early day, as the whites did not feel strong enough to apply either retaliatory or corrective measures. It is probable that after the murder of Chavodreuil the post was abandoned for a time.

In 1795 the post was reoccupied by agents sent out by Jacob Franks, a Jewish trader of Green Bay. Franks never lived here himself, but placed Jacques Porlier in charge. He was succeeded in 1797 by John Lawe, who spent considerable time in Fond du Lac as a trader. Lawe later became prominent in the social and official affairs of Green Bay. During the second war with England he entered the service of the British army, but at the close of hostilities he became a citizen of the United States and was eventually commissioned a

[2] *Ibid.*

WEST BRANCH OF FOND DU LAC RIVER AT THE "BIG BEND" SOUTH OF WESTERN AVENUE BRIDGE
At or near the point marked (x), Augustin Grignon built his trading post in 1801

judge in Brown County. Louis Beaupré was associated with Lawe at the Fond du Lac post.

About 1800 the old post at the forks of the river, which had been the scene of savage attacks and bloodshed, was abandoned and never again occupied. Augustin Grignon and Michael Brisbois, who were located at Fond du Lac for two winters, one of which was 1801, established a new post on the west branch of the river just below the first rapids at the big bend and not far from where the Soo Railway bridge now spans the stream. It will be understood that Fond du Lac was not considered a settlement at this time nor for many years thereafter because the post was occupied only during the winter.

In 1815 Joseph Rolette, who had already established trading posts at the portage and at Prairie du Chien, opened a post at Fond du Lac, but, more enterprising than his predecessors, he did not depend entirely upon his post as a mart for the fur trade. He states that he was in the habit of loading his light draft canoe with merchandise, paddling up the east branch of the Fond du Lac River, and then making a portage of two miles in the present township of Oakfield to reach the Rock River. As he floated down the Rock River he was enabled to do a thriving business with the Indians at the numerous villages situated on that stream.

From 1815 to 1819 we know nothing of the history of the Fond du Lac region, but in the latter year Louis Grignon in a letter to John Lawe wrote that there were many savages in the Fond du Lac lodges of the Puants (Winnebago). In 1820 John Lawe was again in Fond du Lac, for he states that few furs were brought in during the winter. In 1821 Charles Grignon in a letter to his brother Pierre complains of his lack of success in getting furs; and in 1825 Amable Grignon in a letter to John Lawe states that although he has done his best he has not been able to secure a single peltry. He also mentions in the same letter that the savages burned his trading

post, which indicates that the Winnebago were again becoming unruly. This tribe became more and more hostile until the summer of 1827, when a number of settlers were massacred along the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. Military forces were then sent against the savages, and the uprising was quelled, but for several years thereafter the Winnebago were restless and ore or less dangerous. In 1829 Jaes D. Doty passed through the Fond du Lac region on his trip from Green Bay to the Four Lakes and found the Indians numerous in the vicinity. On account of their known hostility, Doty made a detour to avoid the Fond du Lac lodges. In 1833 the savages ceded their title to this region and that fall and the following spring removed to their new home west of the Mississippi.

In 1835 a corporation known as the Fond du Lac Company was formed at Green Bay and received from the government a grant of 3,700 acres of land at the head of Lake Winnebago, which today comprises a part of the site of Fond du Lac City. The first house was built by the company in the spring of 1836 on lot 9 of block 9 of the original plat. Its general appearance is familiar to almost every person in Fond du Lac because of the numerous reprints and copies of the painting by the late Mark R. Harrison which portrays this historic building. The first actual settlers were Colwert Pier and his wife, who arrived from Green Bay in June, 1836. A few months later Edward Pier with his wife and two children arrived to augment the little colony.

In 1837 Fond du Lac was visited by Captain Frederick Marryat, the celebrated English author, who made a trip on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. In his *Diary in America,* published soon after his return to England, he presents a glowing description of the scenery from the ledge east of Fond du Lac.

Gustav de Neveu, a native of France, came to Fond du Lac in 1838 and built his log house on the high shore above

FORKS OF FOND DU LAC RIVER, LOOKING NORTHWEST

At or near the point indicated by the cross (x) stood the old trading post, first mentioned in the records in 1785, but probably in existence long before that time. The land is low and marshy, but the post was occupied in winter only

the beautiful lake that still bears his name. His father, Francis Joseph de Neveu, was a soldier in the expeditionary force sent out from France under the command of D'Estaing to aid the American colonies in their struggle for independence and was seriously wounded a little later in an engagement with the British fleet.[3] It is worthy of note that Lieutenant Gustav de Neveu Wright, a grandson of Gustav de Neveu and one of the most popular young men of Fond du Lac, was killed on a French battle field in the autumn of 1918, thus paying the debt to France for services rendered to America by his brave ancestor of the eighteenth century.

Governor J. D. Doty and Governor N. P. Tallmadge both located on farms just east of Fond du Lac in 1844; the former was just completing his term as territorial governor of Wisconsin, and the latter was succeeding him as the chief magistrate of the territory. Governor Doty had for many years prior to this time been prominent in the territorial and preterritorial affairs of Wisconsin. He resided in Fond du Lac only two years (1844-1846) and then removed to Doty Island at Neenah-Menasha. At the time of his death in 1865 he was governor of Utah Territory. N. P. Tallmadge during his second term as United States Senator from New York resigned to become governor of Wisconsin Territory where he had previously made extensive investments in lands. He was one of the prominent New York statesmen of his day, and when William Henry Harrison was nominated for the presidency Senator Tallmadge was offered the vice presidential nomination but declined it. President Harrison's death soon after his inauguration showed how closely Senator Tallmadge missed a place among the presidents of the United States. He died in 1864 and sleeps on the topmost knoll of beautiful Rienzi Cemetery which he generously set aside from his farm as a resting place for the dead.

[3] From data supplied by the De Neveu family.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES CONCERNING THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

H. R. Holand

In the last issue of the Wisconsin Magazine of History I presented an article on the Kensington Rune Stone. After that article was in type certain important discoveries were made confirming some of the arguments presented and adding new light to our understanding of the circumstances under which the events recorded in the inscription transpired. The present contribution is for the purpose of recording these discoveries and bringing the discussion down to date.

As I shall refer to the text of the inscription a number of times in the following article, a translation of it is given below for the convenience of the reader.

Eight Goths and twenty-two Norsemen on (an) exploration-journey from Vinland through the western regions. We had camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were (out) and fished one day. When we came home (we) found ten men red with blood and dead. Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!

(We) have ten of our party by the sea to look after (or for) our vessels 14 day journey from this island. Year 1362.

In my former article I proved that the term "day's journey" in the Middle Ages represented a unit or measure of distance of approximately eighty miles. Therefore, when the rune master in the last sentence says that they were fourteen days' journey from the sea, he means that they were 14×80 miles from the sea, or 1,120 miles, which agrees excellently with the actual distance from Kensington to Hudson Bay, the nearest "sea."[1]

[1] *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 176-78. Since writing the former article I find that William Hovgaard, professor of Naval Design and Construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in discussing the navigation of the Norsemen has also conclusively shown that a day's sail or day's journey, commonly written *dægr,* was used as a unit of distance as described above. See his *Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (New York, 1914), 61-64.

If "day's journey" means about eighty miles in one part of the inscription it must have the same meaning when used elsewhere in the same inscription. Therefore, when the rune master says that the two skerries (marking the camp where the massacre of the ten men occurred) lie one "day's journey" north of the rune stone, these skerries should be sought for about eighty miles north of Kensington.

On learning the meaning of "day's journey" a few months ago I became very curious as to the whereabouts of these skerries. If they could be found approximately eighty miles north of Kensington, the find would go far toward proving the truth of the inscription in that it would prove that the new and hitherto unguessed interpretation of "14 day journey" was correct. A discovery of these skerries would also lead to the discovery of the camp site where the massacre occurred, where other remains might be found. In October, 1919, therefore, I made a trip to Otter Tail and Becker counties, Minnesota, and searched all the numerous lakes there for skerries. I am very pleased to say that I found them.

The lakes of Becker County lie in the northern end of the beautiful Lake Park Region of Minnesota, studded with hundreds of sparkling lakes. I examined all the lakes of Becker and northern Otter Tail counties to see if there were any skerries. A "skerry" (Scandinavian, *skjær*) is a very small island of rock or gravel, void of vegetation and lying low upon the water. This kind of formation is very rare in the Lake Park Region, there being no place rock within the entire area. In none of these lakes, except one, were there any skerries to be seen. However, in Cormorant Lake, one of the largest of them all and lying farthest to the northwest, were two unmistakable skerries. No one who has stood upon the high hill on the northwestern shore of the lake and has seen these two remarkable skerries lying in a straight line before him can doubt that these are the right skerries. Nor could the rune master have found a better topographical mark of identification to describe the location of his camp.

While the skerries can be discerned from different points on the shore of the lake, there is only one place from which they can be seen prominently. This is the large hill south of John Johnson's farmhouse on the northwestern shore of the lake. This hill was in olden times covered with an open grove of very large trees and was used as a village site by the Indians. They told the first settlers that "this hill had always been their home." Many Indian remains have been found here. This hill was no doubt the camp site of the twenty explorers who in 1362 visited this region. It is almost a hundred feet high and rises steeply from the margin of the lake. The shore is covered with thousands of granite boulders.

As we were about to leave the stony shore and climb directly up this steep hill we noticed near the shore a particularly large, flat boulder almost overgrown with bushes and brambles. In the middle of this stone was a small hole which plainly had been bored by human agency. The hole was an inch in diameter and three-quarters of an inch deep. As we stood pondering upon the significance of this hole another of the party called our attention to another large stone close by which also had a hole in the center. This second hole was seven inches deep and was roughly triangular in shape. A triangular stick of wood, with the angles rounded off, seven inches long, each side measuring one and a quarter inches, would just fit the hole. Both of these boulders were about six feet in length and somewhat less in width. Their surfaces were flat and the insides of the holes were so weathered by the action of the elements that they appeared to have been chiseled hundreds of years ago.

What is the meaning of these strange holes? They could not have been intended for purposes of blasting, for the stones lie in one of the most inaccessible spots on the shore and thousands of similar boulders lie far more conveniently for anyone seeking such. Moreover the weathered appearance of the holes shows that they were made long before the first

white settlers came here. The holes are plainly prehistoric in origin. These holes, bearing plain testimony of the presence of man, would be worthy objects of speculation when found in any desert place, but appearing as they do on the very spot where these explorers of 1362 must have embarked and disembarked upon the fatal fishing trip they are doubly significant. As a memorial of their presence these boulders are second in importance only to the rune stone itself for they speak in mute language of the presence of these pre-Columbian travelers.

Being a mute testimony it is not easy to read the message right, but I would like to make a surmise. Serious deductive reasoning should be able to find the correct explanation of this faint message of bygone times. My solution is as follows:

These explorers came to Cormorant Lake and there need of food prompted them to go fishing. They had no boat but for twenty experienced men the problem of making a raft or punt would be simple. This must have been quite large as we read that ten men went out fishing. They presumably desired to use the raft more than once. The inscription reads "we were (out) and fished one day"—which indicates that they made a prolonged stay at this camp. Owing to its size they could not easily pull the raft up on the stony shore. Some other means was therefore needed for anchoring it. If they carried no flexible ropes they could not anchor the raft in the ordinary fashion; moreover, the roundish boulders of that region are unsuited for anchors. However, necessity is the mother of invention. One of the men is set to work to bore a hole in an immovable stone on the edge of the beach. He makes unsatisfactory progress because some stones are harder than others. He therefore leaves this stone after having made a hole three-quarters of an inch deep and chooses another large boulder near by. In this he chisels a hole seven inches deep and, upon second thought, makes the sides triangular. A flexible withy of some sort, a vine or birch root is then chosen

and securely wedged into the triangular hole. The other end is then tied to the raft which is thus as securely moored to the shore as any rope could do it.

The use of withies for cordage was very common among the Scandinavians of the Middle Ages. Such withies also entered largely into the construction of their vessels. According to Professor Hovgaard the heavier timbers of all their ocean-going vessels, such as the keel, the frames, and the bottom planks, were always fastened together with withies.[2] This gave a greater flexibility to the vessel than was possible with iron bolts. So deft were they in the manipulation of withies that sometimes large ocean-going vessels were securely joined together without any iron bolts, nails, or rivets in their construction, withies and wooden plugs taking the place of these.[3] Even at the present time the Norsemen make large use of withies for binding purposes. I have before me a sheep collar which a farmer of Norway fashioned for me out of two birch twigs a few years ago in five minutes' time. The ends are shaped into a very serviceable snap and ring; the collar, which is very flexible, is so strong that I was assured that a horse could not pull it in two with a straight pull. This sheep collar shows that birch twigs one-quarter inch in diameter when twisted can be bent to an arc of a radius equal to their diameter without breaking.

These observations are sufficient, I believe, to show that it would be a simple and natural thing for these explorers to make a stout rope out of withies with which to tie their raft. Nor would the problem of wedging these into the anchor stone present any difficulty. The withies used in the construction of their vessels were wedged in so securely that they withstood the heaviest buffetings of the sea. The same principle is used nowadays by builders in elevating large stones. A small hole

[2] *Op. cit.*, 52-53.

[3] See account in *Flatey Annals;* also *Annals Regii* and *Odda Annals* under date of 1189, telling of Asmund Kastanraste's vessel built in Greenland which contained only one iron bolt.

is chiseled in the middle of the stone; a wedge called a "lewis" is inserted; and the stone is safely lifted to the desired height.

These anchor stones are at present lying about five or six feet above the level of the lake; this indicates that the lake level in 1362 may have been four or five feet higher than it is at present. It could not have been much higher as this lake at high water has an outlet both at the north and at the south. Cormorant Lake happens to be the highest of all the lakes in that region, being the uppermost source of Pelican River. But even if the lake were only five feet higher than at present, both of the skerries would be under water. Does this then mean that in 1362, when the water presumably was five feet higher than it now is, these skerries did not exist as skerries but only as reefs? Not necessarily. The great mass of boulders which are strewn around the shore indicates that these skerries formerly were much bigger and higher than now. The nature of these skerries is such that their height above the water is determined by the moving ice which shoves back and forth like a huge planer each spring. They consist of boulders of all sizes which are cemented together with sand and gravel. Let us assume that the skerries formerly were five feet higher than now and that the water fell five feet. Little by little as the water fell the rains would wash out and erode the sand and gravel which bind the boulders together until finally the moving icefloes would get a grasp upon them and carry them away. In this manner, therefore, the tops of the skerries would diminish as the lake level lowered.

Cormorant Lake is the first lake of any size that these explorers would come to from the northwest, the probable direction of their approach. After a very long and wearisome march over the vast Red River Valley prairie, where game would be scarce and hard to approach, the wooded hills and beautiful expanse of Cormorant Lake would look very pleasant to them and invite them to a long stay. This is also one of the largest of these lakes, with many coves and head-

lands. This explains why the ten men who were out fishing heard or saw nothing of the tragedy that had overtaken their comrades until they returned and "found ten men, red with blood and dead." Even in the brief words upon the stone we can recognize the horrified surprise which met them and which causes the rune master to exclaim, "Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!"

There can be no doubt that the survivors gave themselves time to bury their dead in a decent fashion. The next step in this investigation is therefore to find this burial spot. As we stood upon the hill of the camp site, Mr. Johnson pointed out a small knoll about sixty rods back from the lake and said: "Someone is surely buried over there."

"Why?"

"Because there are several sunken graves on that knoll."

We went over to the knoll and found that there really were a number of "sunken graves" on the knoll. They were not hollows caused by uprooted trees, except in one instance, but looked just like neglected graves. Whether these are of red or white men's origin I do not know. The knoll has never been plowed as it lies just inside the bounds of a piece of stony woodland. I made no excavations and requested Mr. Johnson not to disturb the mound until it can be excavated in a scientific manner. This will probably be done next spring.

DOCUMENTS

A JOURNAL OF LIFE IN WISCONSIN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

KEPT BY WILLARD KEYES OF NEWFANE, VERMONT

On the second day of June in A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, I, Willard Keyes, (being impelled by a curiosity, or desire of seeing other places than those in the vicinity of my Native town,) started from Newfane in Vermont intending to travel into the western parts of the United States.—

Pass through Wardsboro—Stratton—across Green Mountain nine miles entire forrest—Arlington—South road to Shaftsbury—30 miles.

June 3d—through a corner of Bennington—Hoosick N. Y.—leave the main road, pass Hoosick-falls—Pittstown, Fosters inn, 24 miles.

" 4th Detained by rain till one oClock muddy roads—Brunswick—Troy, Pattersons inn, rainy—only 11 miles to day—

" 5th Cross north river and ride to Albany 6 miles—71 from Newfane—ramble about the City till one oclock—grow tired of a City life, dine in Washington St.—and start, taking the great Western turnpike leading to Cherry Valley travel in company with a sociable Dutchman—who gives me a ride in his waggon) muddy. Clay—a sudden shower—lodging at Deprats, Dutch inn Guiteerland 14 miles from albany—

June 6th Breakfast at Cheesmans—Princeton get a ride 20 miles, through, Duanesburg, Schoharie-Bridge—Carlisle—36 miles from Albany conclude to leave this road and strike the Mohawk find company, agree to an evenings walk stop & rest at a Cave arrive at Canajoharry-bridge.

11 at night—47 miles fr. Albany

June 7th Breakfast, and start late, being well jagged with yesterdays travel—proceed up the Mohawk, on the south side, (the turnpike is on

[1] For a short account of this journal see the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, III, 268-70.

the north)—Mindon—German-Flats—Herkemer-Courthouse—Emmersons inn—27 miles to day—the Grand Canal[2] is staked out on and near the road I traveled to day

" 8th Sabbath, day of rest—A dutch meeting—some young emigrants from Newhampshire came along, made some appology for traveling on the sabbath, and invited me to accompany them, but I declined

June 9th—Appearance of rain at hand—start for Utica 13 miles—Breakfast at Frankfort—begins to rain—get a ride to Utica—a very handsome Village rainy—towards night set forward for Whitestown 17 miles this day—large woolen factories in this vicinity but doing very little buisiness

Fall in Company with a Gent. traveller who gives the following account of himself.

"Constant A. Andrews by name, from Newyork City going to a tract of land on the mississippi river called "Carvers Purchase,—has purchased some of sd. land.—that the Proprietor, Dr. Samuel Peters,[3] with agents from a Company of merchants in Newyork who have purchased sd. tract of Dr. P. are coming on and will join him at Rome., or York in Canada.,.

June 10th Rainy—get a ride to Rome, about 100 miles from Albany—put up at Merills, Stage hotel, ...

I must now sit down and determine what course to pursue—the prospect is rather gloomy—

Swarms have been and are pouring from the "nation's hive" (New England) to people the Western forrests; it seems they have overstocked the market; for I daily meet those who are retracing their steps; they tell a discouraging story—

I have the choice of two ways before me, either to sneak back again like a henhearted fellow, or boldly venture beyond the beaten track of former adventurers, I have dissuasives from the former, and incentives to the latter course. Mr. Andrews is solicitous to have me accompany him; and I am inclined to think I shall—

[2] The Erie Canal, begun in 1816 and opened to traffic in 1825.

[3] Rev. Samuel Peters was an Episcopal clergyman of Connecticut, who because of Tory proclivities was driven out of the country at the opening of the Revolution and for thirty years resided in England. In 1805 he came back to America and devoted the remaining twenty years of his life to vain efforts to obtain ownership of the Carver Grant in western Wisconsin. Peters is perhaps best known to posterity for his history of Connecticut, published anonymously in London in 1781.

May the Almighty God who rules the Universe be my Protector, may he incline my heart to pursue that which will conduce most to his glory, and my Eternal happiness.

June 11th—Wait the arrival of boats, intending to take passage down to Oswego—Rome is situated on the Mowhawk where it is united by a canal with Wood-Creek.

" 12th Superior Court sits at Rome—a large number of criminals indicted, among whom I recognised one familiar face, vis. Benjamin Flint a native of Newfane Vt.

(for Counterfeiting.

" 13-14th Rainy—wait with impatience for boats—attend court—several crininals tried and sentenced to hard labor, from 5 to ten years—an Indian convicted of murdering his brother—Evening—boats atlength arrive up the Mohawk—Write to my father—enclose a ticket in the Washington Bridge lottery No. 9102—

" 15th—Sabbath—take our passage down Wood-Creek, which is very winding. Country flat and in many places inundated Arrive at Oneida Lake, 22 miles by the Creek—a tavern without beds—take lodging across 2 chairs—

" 16th—Windbound at the head of Oneida wait with great impatience—Eve. wind abates—10 oclock start by rowing—I lend some assistance—continue all night by rowing.

" 17th Fair wind for sailing—7 oclock opposite Rotterdam unfortunately run on a rift of rocks get of[f] with some difficulty—28 miles across the lake—enter Oswego river—stop for the night at "three river Point"—18 m. fr. the Lake a bridge across the river here—two or three houses—obtain lodging in one of them

" 18th take a pilot to pass the rapids—12 miles to the falls—at very high water, boats sometimes pass down but never ascend these falls—one mile, land Carriage—by the falls—fortunately find a boat ready to start. 12 miles to Oswego on Lake Ontario—a considerable village—it was taken by the British in the last war—arrived here about noon—Engage a passage to York Upper Canada in the Schooner Morning Star—140 miles for $3—

June 19th—Wait a favorable wind—Sunset hoist sail with a light breeze—the cargo consists entirely of passengers, about 40 in number, mostly emigrants from England, going to Canada.

June 20th Very little wind, therefore we make but little progress—the water of the Lake is clear and cool.

" 21t A dead calm most of the day

June 22d—Sabbath—York light-house in sight—scarcely any wind—4 oclock PM. cast anchor in the bay of "little York" (otherwise Toronto.)[4]

" 23d—Mr. Andrews calls on Mrs. Jarvis, daughter of Dr. Peters, and wife of the secretary of U. Canada and informs her that her father is on the way here—she is transported with the news—requests me to start with the information to his son Wm. B. Peters, Attorney, in Dundass, near Burlington heights, 50 miles west—(now called Hamilton) furnished with a good horse, and letters of introduction arrive in Dundass late in the evening.

June 24th Esq. Peters, absent from home—am invited to tarry till his return—am treated with much politeness—Mrs Peters and her daughter, are very amiable in the afternoon walk out to view "Burlington heights" the British headquarters during the late war.

June 25th—return to York—the country is newly settled principaly by "Americans (or as they are called, Yankees")—the land is generaly flat, heavy timbered, and clay soil, but appears to be fertile, their farms tho—new, look flourishing—the road is mostly on a streight line, called "Dundass street" 50 miles in length—with farms arranged on each side—adjoining York I passed through a Pine forrest of 8 miles—

June 26th hire my board at a private house $3.50 per week—purposing to wait the arrival of Dr Peters

" 27 Write to my Brother Royal in Ellicott Ny.

" 28th this place is the seat of Goverment for Upper Canada, it is handsomly laid out into building lots and will probably be a place of considerable trade when the back country is well stocked with inhabitants it was taken by the Americans under Gen. Pike who lost his life by their blowing up the Arsenal—

By an act passed since the war if a citizen of the U. Stats purchases land in this Province it is forfeited to the Crown it is said nearly half of the inhabitants are natives of the States, and they begin to grow jealous of them—Dureing the war any who were suspected of being

[4] The parenthetical explanation was, apparently, added to the manuscript at some later time.

friendly to the Americans were persecuted with the greatest severity.
June 29th Sabbath—A meeting for religious worship is held in town, but being a stranger, I did not attend

" 30th C. A. Andrews executes a deed of 100 hundred acres of land in "Carvers tract" to me

July 1t Busy myself by making board rules—reading or sauntering through the streets—

" 2d—Dr. Peters arrives—Accompanied by Messrs—Thos. Taylor and John Tuthill—an affecting meeting of him and his daughter, after 12 years abscence—

" 3d. Dr Peters is about 84 years of age,[5] quite infirm, but says he will pursue his object of obtaining "Carvers land till he obtains it, or ends his life—he is very sociable—promises me good encoragement, as do the other agents if I will go with them

July 4th American Indepependance—hear the Cannon at fort Niagara which makes the royalists snarl Some American mechanics imprudently ride through through the town with a flag hoisted—some miscreants collected at night to mob them, but did not succeed—

July 5th—3 oclock PM. After much trouble, we start in a waggon for Lake Simcoe—distance 40 miles North—our company consists of Taylor, Tuthill, Andrews and myself—Dr Peters stays till monday.

July 6th Sabbath. Have had entertainment and lodging in a town Called "Volney"—our rout is through a Quaker Settlement—handsome farms though mostly new 3 oclock PM arrive at "Holland Landing" "Gillington"—just escape a tremenduous shower—a Mr Johnson keeps tavern here—and owns a small schooner that can come up the river to this place

July 7th Walk out to Newmarket—Robinsons mills store &C—6 miles—

July 8th—Indians are as thick as bees—the British have been dealing out presents to them

" 9th Johnsons schooner sails—Andrews and Taylor take passage in her—Tuthill and myself wait with impatience for Dr Peters—

" 10th Dr. P. arrives—12 oclock we start in a little Birchbark Canoe, with a frenchman, his squaw, 3 children and several hundred weight of baggage—tis astonishing how much these "eggshells" will

[5] Peters was born Nov. 20 (O. S.), 1735; he was, therefore, in his eighty-second year at this time.

bear up on the water—the least movement of those unacquainted with them will overset them—they are so light that an Indian will carry a considerable one on his head across the portages—We paddle down Holland River, 10 miles—enter Lake Simcoe 30 miles across—night overtakes us about halfway—land—strike up a fire—and encamp in the open air—a tough beginning for old D^{r}- P- but his courage holds good

July 11th—start early—soon commences a heavy rain, that drenches us to the skin—11 oclock Arrive at Kempenfelt bay—west end of the Lake—find Andrews and Taylor here the British have 3 store houses here.

July 12th- Cross a portage of 8 miles, horrible road thro. woods and swamps, to Nottowassauga Creek—Moscketoes beat all I ever met with before—a few store houses here D^{r} P. Andrews, and Tuthill, immediately start down the river in an Indian Canoe deeply laden with baggage—

July 13th Sabbath—Taylor and myself proceed in our frenchmans canoe—a very winding stream—the country flat, thickly wooded and in many places overflowed so that we sometimes left the crooked channell and sailed through the woods—1 oclock arrive at Nottowasauga, on Lake Huron[6]—40 miles by the Creek—a few houses here the British had a considerable establishment at this place but have lately transfered it to Pentanguechine

July 14th The Schooner we intended to have taken passage in, sailed before our arrival; therefore we are obliged to purchase a small boat, $60—it being calm we set of[f] by rowing—our Company consists of 10 persons viz. D^{r} Peters, Andrews, Taylor, Tuthill, our frenchman, his wife and three children—5 working hands, 4 at the oar and one at the helm, at which we take turns—Intend to coast the N. E. shores of Huron to Drummond island, and thence to Mackinaw—expect to be out 10 or 12 days—stop to dine on a barran sandy shore—we regale ourselves with a dish of tea, and mess of fish our course is about N.W.—stop for the night on a small island inhabited, chiefly, by gnats who recieved us gladly.

July 15th start by rowing—pass "Mackodash bay" at the head of it the British have an establisment called Pentanguechine—the shores and bottom of the Lake is solid rock.

[6] The travelers had now reached Nottawasaga Bay, which is at the south-eastern end of Georgian Bay.

" 16th—The Lake still and smooth the greatest curiosity we have is the immence piles of rocks. islands of rocks innumerable—encamp on one of them,—tormented by Mosketoes—sleep but little.

July 17th Start Early, row accross a large bay—high surf—afternoon, another bay, wind and waves uncommonly high, our passage dangerous among rocks that present themselves on every side the billows breaking over them—Again pleasant sailing being sheltered by islands 3 oclock, head West, wind against us—make our bed on the soft side of a rock.

July 18th Start with the sun—wind ahead, surf high—row hard about 10 miles—stop on an island of rocks curiously broken into square pieces as nice as if sawed—Juniper, and Goosbery bushes are the principal vegetable productions—exercise our ingenuity in making a goosbery Pie, have rare luck—4 oclock PM. start again—very little wind—sundown, encamp on rocks

" 19th Set of[f] at sunrise—wind strong ahead obliged to lie by all day

" 20th Sabbath, rather cold, breakfast and proceed—the wind still in our teeth—stop at 4 PM.

July 21t Free wind for sailing—pass an Indian village, at a place called by the French "cloche" (Bell, in English[7]) they offer us a Beaver skin for Skittewabaw (rum)—a long string of islands—sail till near dark.

July 22d Dr. Peters quite sick with the Lumbago—sail by daylight—6 miles, the wind Comes ahead and compells us to lie by all day high winds the foaming billows dash and break over the rocks with great fury.

July 23d High winds from the west confine us still to our little island of rocks—our fire overruns the most of it and burns both wood and soil the principal timber that grows on these barran shores is stintid pine, cedar and juniper.

July 24th Start by daybreak—still a westerly breeze—sunset encamp on a sandy shore thick woods—quite cool.

July 25th Wind against us by hard rowing reach an Indian encampment—11 oclock A. M. stop—they are called Missasauges—a sandy plain surrounded by high rocky mountains—tack to the SW. meet

[7] Apparently Cloche Island, which lies between Manitoulin Island and the Ontario mainland.

some Mackinaw boats laden with peltry—encamp on an island some distance from land

July 26th Continue steering S. W.—wind ahead—Drummond island in sight—and we begin to take courage—encamp on a small island.

July 27th—Sabbath—Rainy morning—the first we have had for 16 days—St. Joseph's, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in sight—11 oclock AM. reach the settlement on Drummond's island a new establishment by the British[8]— — — this island is said to be about 45 miles long the settlement is on the south end, they keep a garrison here commanded by a Col.

July 28th, Start for Mackinaw—45 miles West the wind soon sets in against us—with hard tugging at the oar we reach a small island about half way.

" 29th One oclock in the morn—we start, by the light of the moon—lake still and smooth—sunrise the wind helps a little—9 oclock, fine breeze, Mackinaw in sight—the fort makes a handsome appearance, standing on high ground and completely white-washed—12, we sail up handsomely to the celebrated island of Mackinaw and landed once more on American soil having coasted the Northern shore of L. Huron about 400 miles—a chain of islands stretch along near the shore most of the way—we were obliged to keep behind them as much as posible with our little boat to avoid the roughness of the lake—the island of Mackinaw is about 3 miles long and 1½ broad the fort stands on elevated ground and can command the whole island[9] the town is on the south shore—a small plain just under the fort, the houses are many of them built of logs and roofs covered with bark however their appearance is better inside than out, many of them are handsomely furnished the inhabitants are a mixture of Americans French, British and Indians of all sorts and descriptions—the garrison consists of about 200 men commanded by Col. Mc.Neil[10] con-

[8] The post on Drummond Island had been established after the British withdrew from Mackinac in 1815. Although in fact within the boundary of the United States, the establishment was maintained by the British as a center for the control of the Indian trade until 1828.

[9] The latter observation is incorrect, as the Americans learned to their sorrow when the British attacked the place in the summer of 1812.

[10] Col. John McNeil had distinguished himself for bravery and hard fighting in the War of 1812. He left the army in 1830, having received from President Jackson the appointment of surveyor of the port of Boston. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Indian treaty of 1829 at Prairie du Chien; copies of his journals on that occasion were later supplied the Wisconsin Historical Society by the executors of his will.

siderable trade is carried on here it being the general rendezvous of Indian traders.

July 30th Write to my friends—Mr. Taylor concludes to return to Newyork—the rest of our company prepare for a voyage to Prairie du Chien, 600 miles,—where we expect to winter—were disappointed of finding persons at Mackinaw with whom we intended to open our buisness.

July 31t Taylor sails for Buffalo, about 700 miles

August 1t—About thirty bark canoes full of Savages arrive, part Sacks and part Winnibagoes, or Peunt towards night they commence a dancing frolic—it was a novel sight to me—they danced and sung before almost every door in the village from each of which they expect a present of Bread, tobacco, whiskey or something else—most of them were nearly naked and were painted or daubed with black, red and white, and decorated with quills, feathers, tails of wild beasts &C. so as to appear horridly frightful.

Aug. 2d Two months since I left Newfane about sundown start for Prairie du Chien having hired our passage in an Indian trading boat, belonging to Mr John Dousman,[11] our company consists of Dr. Peters, Andrews, Tuthill and myself passengers,—Andrew Leiphart master, 1 interpreter 1 clerk, and 6 french boatmen. proceed about 5 miles and encamp—

Aug. 3d—Sabbath Indians hooting all night—Breakfast and proceed—pass the Michegan streights—wind comes ahead obliged to lie by

Aug. 4th A very heavy shower, with sharp Lightning and hard thunder last night in the morning, cold and high winds—strike our tent and remove into the woods for shelter from the wind

" 5th " 6th Wind high, from the west, the white caps roll and break on the shore with violence—

Aug. 7th A calm—we proceed on our voyage encamp at the mouth of a river—some indian graves in this place.

Aug 8th Warm weather—12 oclock arrive at a place called by the French Shuchwa (Shouchoio)[12] 25 Leagues from Mackinaw—a soft

[11] John Dousman was a Pennsylvanian who had come west as an army sutler some years before the War of 1812. He lived for a time at Green Bay, then at Mackinac, and still later (1824) returned to Green Bay, where he died the following year.

[12] Point Seulchoix, in Schoolcraft County, Michigan.

kind of stone or marble is found here—on which we, as new comers must engrave our names, and pay a customary treat to the boat-men—encamp again at the mouth of the river.[13]

Aug. 9th We give the boatmen a treat, one of them turns down about a pint and lies dead drunk—We keep on the North side of the Lake—encamp on a stony flat—

August 10th Arrive at the entrance of Green Bay cross over to the South side—numerous islands, with remarkable high precipices—one, the French call Le De Pou (the Louse)—Pleasant weather—encamp on an island they call "Petite Detroit" (little Streight) a band of Indians reside here, they are employed in building Birch Bark Canoes, and weaving flag mats.[14] Sabbath—

August 11th Pass point "De Mort" (or point of Death) so called from the many Indian canoes wrecked there in attempting to pass the point which is perpendicular—rocks rising out of the water

August 12 Pleasant weather, fair wind for sailing encamp on a white oak plain—Mosketoes troublesome

Aug. 13th Arrive at the head of Green Bay, enter Fox river steering about south—12 oclock arrive at Fort Howard—We had neglected to obtain pasports at Mackinaw but after some difficulty have permission to proceed—pitch our tents about 2 miles above the mouth of the river the inhabitants are French and live on both sides of the river—distant from Mackinaw 240 miles

Aug. 14th This appears to be a pleasant place and the land fertile, though poorly cultivated—their crops of Wheat and corn look well obtain garden vegetables, milk, &C. but at a high price A funeral on the death of a frenchman—cermonies performed in the Roman Catholic style—sunset—proceed about 2 miles and encamp—the river I should judge is near ½ mile wide the water, very dirty occasioned I believe principally by the Rice blossoms.

Aug. 15th Foggy morning—proceed about 2 m. stop at mr. John Jacobs[15]—Dr. Peters Baptises two of his children—our course is S. W. the land on the N. W. Side has a beautiful appearance being

[13] The Manistique River.

[14] For an interesting account of a visit to this village only a month after Peters' party see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 165-66.

[15] John B. Jacobs, a native of Canada, who settled at Green Bay about the year 1800. About the year 1827 he returned to Canada and there spent the remainder of his life.

composed of gentle rises interspersed with vales of high grass—very thinly wooded with scattering oak and hickory.

August 16th Start early, proceed to the rapids before breakfast—6 Leagues from Green Bay they unload the boat and drag it near a mle up the rapids—a frenchman[16] lives here who transports the loading in carts—here is an elegant seat for mills and will probably be improved at some future day—the country looks beautiful and inviting—the weather is warm—Lockwood[17] with another trading boat overtakes us—they hire Indian canoes to take part of the load as the river is rapid for several miles

several of us walk 2 or 3 miles—meet two persons by the names of "Gunn, and King"[18] who have been out to gain inteligence respecting Carvers land

Aug 17th Sabbath—The hands have to drag the boat most of the way against a swift current sometimes perpendicular falls—a heavy shower pitch our tent in a twinkling and just escape it—Start again about noon—3 oclock arive at some falls[19]—they are about 5 or 6 feet, perpendicular a solid rock stretches from one shore to the other the two boats double their team, mustering Indians and all, about 25 strong, and haul the boats up without unloading—encamp 1 m. above the fals

Aug 18th Morning Cold—the river spreads out near ¾ of a mile wide—smoth sailing a short distance—more rapids—half unload, and cary it at twice to Winnibago Lake—I proceed there by land—it begins to rain—Indians bring us green corn, beans, and potatoes for bread salt and tobacco

Aug 19th Rainy most of the day—Indians continue to supply us with vegetables, ducks venison &C. they take out the boat and Caulk it—

Aug 20th Heavy shower with thunder & lightning last night—cloudy—the men backward about starting—Lockwood started yester-

[16] Apparently Augustin Grignon, a prominent trader of Wisconsin. His recollections are printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, 197-295.

[17] James H. Lockwood, a prominent resident of Prairie du Chien in the early part of the nineteenth century. Lockwood was a native of New York; he came west as a young man at the close of the War of 1812 and engaged in the Indian trade. His permanent residence at Prairie du Chien dates from 1819. See his recollections in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 98-196.

[18] These men were grandsons of Jonathan Carver and were returning, disappointed, from the same mission on which Peters was outward bound—to gain the recognition of the Sioux chiefs of their claim to the Carver Grant.

[19] Known as the Grand Chute, where the modern city of Appleton has arisen.

day—we move about 12 oclock—the Lake is about 24 miles long from N. to S.—and 6 broad—we steer S—20 miles, then turn west and enter Fox river again—6 miles up we come to Dead Lake 9 m. long, and in the broadest part about 3—course through the Lake N. W. till we arrive at (La Be des Mort) "the Bank of the dead" where we encamp—a band of Menomine Indians live here—called by the French "Folsavoine" (or Wild Rice)—the French in former days destroyed an Indian village at this place for committing depredations on their trade which gave the Bank its name.

Aug. 21t—Pleasant, but cool—proceed 2 miles and the river branches, the one from the W. is called Wolf river—the Fox river turns S—then E. and almost every point of the Compas but the general course appears to be S. W. Extensive Prairies, or Meadows on each side of the river covered with high grass, and interspersed with groves of young trees—Wild Rice grows in great abundance—ducks and other wild fowl are plenty the day is pleasant and the scenry is beautiful beyond description—the river is about 6 rods wide, very smooth and a serpentine course, winding to the S. and W.—Encamp on a white Oak plain about 6 feet higher than the river—40 m. from Winnibago Lake—90 to the Ouisconsin

Aug 22d—Some rain last night—cloudy and foggy—proceed 4 miles, pass a place called "Yellow Thunder"[20]—prospect of rain—steer all points of the compass—5 oclock PM. it begins to rain, encamp on the W. side of river

Aug. 23d Heavy rain last night—10 oclock arrive at a place where one and half mile by land, equals 15 by the river—several of us walk across the isthmus—shoot Pheasants, ducks and pigeons—the boat in doubling the point steer west and then turn east again—they pass some Indian Lodges, get green corn and mellons this, is said to be midway between Winnibago Lake and the portage into the Ouisconsin 24 leagues each way—a few miles and we enter a Lake called by the Indians "Pockwak" (Flag Lake) 9 miles long—3 broad, course through the lake S.W.—Rice, and flags, or bulrushes are in such abundance as impedes our progress—some of it grows to the height of 6 feet above the water—pitch our tents on the N. side—

[20] This was the village of the noted Winnebago chief, Yellow Thunder. He died at an extreme age in February, 1874.

Aug. 24th Sabbath—Pleasant weather—some of us take a trip on land, but in pursuit of game we miss the point we intended to take the boat, and wander over hills and through meadows near 6 miles—arrive on the banks of "Lac la Beuf" (or Ox Lake)—some high hills for this country—shoot a large speckled snake off a tree rattlesnakes are said to abound through this country this lake is 9 miles long but narrow—near night another portage of ½ mile, but the boat has several miles, and is seen meandering through the meadows in every direction, the river is concealed by the grass—

Aug. 25th—24 miles to the portage—general course appears to be near S.—9 oclock pass a place where a girl was buried, said to be poisned by a cruel stepmother—the grave enclosed with pickets on the Cross at her head was an inscription in French to the following import "Theresse Chappeau died Oct.—1815 aged 10 years"—the river grows narrow, 6 of us get out to walk, thinking to make a short cut we wandred out of our way 6 or 8 miles, crossed a large meadow, a termerack swamp &C. part of us joined the boat a few miles before it reached the portage—they had passed a small Lake called Mud-lake—the channel is narrow and full of rice and mud, in some places almost impassable—arrived at the portage 4 oclock P. M.

the distance from Mackinaw to this place is, called 140 Leagues, or 420 miles—from Green Bay 60 Leagues—and from this portage to Prairie du Chien 60 Leagues—

Fox river from Winnibago Lake has a very winding course, no rapids, several small lakes and great quantities of Wild Rice—its general course appears to be S. S. W.

On both sides of the river are large and extensive Prairies or meadows covered with high grass—the upland is dry and sandy, principaly timbered with various kinds of Oak The Indians inhabiting this country are Winnibagoes and Menomines (called by the French Puants, and Folsavoins) they are reported to be rather inimical to Americans but I saw nothing unfriendly in their behavior—the only domestic animals I saw among them were horses and dogs—they cultivate corn, potatoes, turnips, beans &c.

Aug 26th—The portage between Fox river and the Wisconsin (or as the French spell it Ouisconsin) is little more than a mile, low level land, and free from wood, I think they might be easily united by a

canal—A Frenchman lives here and transports boats and their cargo—he broke his carts and hindered us one day—encamp on the banks of the Wisconsin—Saw a Rattlesnake the first I ever saw. Killed by an American, Indian Trader named Lockwood

Aug. 27th More boats Arrive to the number of 6 12 oclock, our boat, in company with two others, starts down the Wisconsin—rapid current, sandy bottom, not very crooked, and no rice—about 50 or 60 yards wide though it frequently spreads out much wider—full of islands and sand-bars this river is said to head 300 miles above the Portage our course about S. W.—25 miles, and encamp

Aug. 28th Rainy—frequent difficulty in dragging the boat over sand-bars—the adjacent country is full of small hills that shoot up very high and seem to terminate in a point, some are of solid rock, others appear to be sand—the low land is thickly covered with wood—4 oclock PM. pass a perpendicular rock of considerable height—

Aug. 29th—Commences raining at day-break clears up at eight—9 oclock pass the halfway place, 30 Leagues each way, the river turns from S. to S.W.—the land uneven, precipices frequently occur of solid rock—sand-bars numerous, and sometimes rocks—pass a place called "English meadow"[21] from an English trader and his son, said to have been murdered there by the savages, 20 Leagues to Prairie du Chien

Aug. 30th—9 oclock pass a large plain with high banks, called "Prairie du Bay"—11 Leagues from "Prairie du Chien" pass Blue river, a small stream that comes in from the South between two high points of land, said to be navigable 30 Leagues for small boats—a few miles below another stream from the North called C[l?]ousy river[22]—3 Leagues from the mouth of Ouisconsin several of us leave the boats and proceed by land to Prairie du Chien about 6 miles, where we arrive about 4 oclock P. M.

And here I am on the banks of the far famed "Missisippi"—the rout I have traveled is about 2000 miles Three months ago I was in my native town; in the pleasing circle of youthful acquaintance beyond which I had never ventured.

[21] Probably English Prairie, on which the present town of Muscoda is situated. The usual explanation of the origin of the name is that the English troops under Col. McKay camped here in 1814, en route to the capture of Prairie du Chien.

[22] Evidently the modern Kickapoo.

Since that time what varying scenes have been presented to my view! Scenes of terror and disgust, of admiration and delight, have alternately excited my attention. With admiration have I beheld the rare productions of Nature in these uncultivated regions; the verdant plains and varigeated hills and dales all clad in Nature's gayest livery without the aid of art, have filled my bosom with delight—On the other hand the tawny Savage of the wilderness, sculking in the thicket, besmeared with paint of various hues, and otherways decorated to render them frightful, thrill terror through the breast of those unacquainted with their manners; and their mode of living and eating is disgusting to those who have any sence of decency or cleanliness—

Aug. 31t Sabbath—A general muster of the garrison, being the last day of the month about 200 riflemen commanded by Col. Chambers,[23] they appear to be well dissiplined—the fort is about 50 yards square, composed of barracks built of hewn logs, with two block houses at opposite corners, mounting several small pieces of artillery—Called Fort "Crawford."

The Prairie is an extensive plain 10 or 12 miles long and from 2 to 4 broad—the inhabitants are French who settled here from Canada about 40 years ago—there is 20 or 30 houses in the vicinity of the fort, besides several clumps in differant parts of the Prairie—the river is said to be about a mile wide opposite the town, and full of islands—the people are galloping about on French Ponys playing at ball, billiards &c. so that the Sabbath appears to be a day of recreation and amusement among them—

Sept. 1t—Rainy—Indians are numerous though they do not appear so plenty as at Mackinaw—the French I believ have most of them Indian wives

Sept. 2d—three months since I left home—Excessive warm—the Thermometer 102 degrees in our tent—

[23] Colonel Talbot Chambers was appointed to the army from Pennsylvania about ten years before this time. At the close of the War of 1812 he was sent west to command at Mackinac. In the summer of 1816 he accompanied the troops to Green Bay to establish Fort Howard and commanded here for one winter. He was transferred to Prairie du Chien early in 1817, remaining until the spring of 1818. At Prairie du Chien he acquired an unenviable reputation for despotic conduct. He was dismissed from the army in 1826—according to one account for cutting off a soldier's ears—and entered the Mexican service, where he opposed his former countrymen in the war of 1846-48.

Dr Peters and Tuthill visit Col. Chambers were politely received, and promised his assistance in the prosecution of their object, he is commander in chief here, there being no civil authority in the place
Sept 3d—Almost every thing bears an exorbitant price—we hire a small room for $3 per week
Sept. 4th I engage to work for a few days for a Mr Shaw.[24] who is building a mill about 4 miles N. by E. from the fort—$1 per day
Sept. 8th agree to work for Mr Shaw as a carpenter at $26 per month—Mr. Andrews as a millwright
Sept 14th Sabbath—visit the town on sundays being at work other days—it is the custom with many here to spend this day in riot and drunkenness
Sept 20th Taken very ill expect the Fever and Ague coming on
Sept 21t Sabbath—Rainy—take a potion of Calomel and Jallap—
Sept. 22d Ague and Fever hangs on with great severity—commence taking Peruvian bark, as a sure remedy—
Sept. 25th My disorder begins to abate and I commence work though feeble
Oct 10th A second attack of the Fever and Ague—but after a few days, by the Blessing of God and the use of proper medicine am enabled to get rid of it
Oct. 17th Lord Selkirk[25] a Scotchman passes the fort, from his settlement on "Red River" on his way to the City of Washington—
Oct 19th Sabbath—Pleasant weather—At ½ past 8 in the Evening a messenger at full speed gave an alarm that the Indians had attacked the town directing us to make the best of our way to the fort—our firearms were all absent, or out of order we immediately concluded to flee—at the same instant the Indian whistle began to sound (the signal for attack) we rushed out were fired upon, and the war-whoop commencd we scatered retreted to the hills, finding ourselves not pursued, collected our company together and found two missing—

[24] This was Colonel John Shaw, whose recollections are printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 197-232.

[25] Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, in 1811 purchased 116,000 square miles of land in the Canadian Northwest from the Hudson's Bay Company and devoted the remainder of his life to establishing a colony there. He is the real founder of the Canadian West. At the time of his visit to Prairie du Chien Selkirk was en route to settled Canada to stand trial upon charges preferred by representatives of the NorthWest Company, with which he had become embroiled. The story of Selkirk's life and work is told by Louis A. Wood, *The Red River Colony. A Chronicle of the Beginnings of Manitoba* (Toronto: 1915).

after a long consultation we, from various reasons concluded it to be a false alarm, created by some evil disposed, drunken, lowlived persons—we cautiously returned to our cabin, where we found one of our men who in retreating a different way was driven back—and one man lay in the woods all night

Oct 20th—The Indian exploit of last night was performed by the officers of the garrison and some of the principal citizens, led on by the Col.—who came up today to excuse the matter—to palliate the unwarrantable act he said we were too carless in not being well armed, and being too far from the fort for protection he had adopted that plan as the only method of bringing us to our sense of duty—

Oct. 25th A snow storm—cold weather

Oct. 27th Warm—for the season—

Nov. 2 A sleight head ache—symptoms of the Ague returning

Nov. 3d—Finish working for Mr- Shaw by the month—Undertake, in Co. with mr- Andrews to finish the mill for the use of it till the first of June—expect likewise to build a horse mill for mr- Rolette[26]

Nov.4th Quite sick with the Ague though not so violent as at first.

Nov. 9th Write to my father and friends in Vermont—

Nov 11 Rainy day—thunder at night

" 12th Rig up our cabin and make it comfortable for the winter

Nov. 16 Sabbath—Seldom go to town on other days.

Nov. 18th Col. Chambers lends us some muskets

Nov. 23d Sabbath—take a walk several miles up the Creek—Snow is about 3 inches

Nov. 28th An Indian Chief of the Fox tribe with his family takes his residence near us—the Indian agent, Mr. Johnson,[27] gives him a written recommend to us for friendship and protection

Nov. 30th Sabbath ride to the village—pleasant—the Missisippi has been nearly frozen over, but appears to be breaking up

Dec. 1t—a heavy rain—

Dec. 2d—A sudden change in the weather—high winds and cold—

[26] Joseph Rolette was a leading citizen of Prairie du Chien in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He was born in Canada in 1781, came to Prairie du Chien in 1806, and died there in 1842.

[27] John W. Johnson was the factor in charge of the government Indian trading house at Prairie du Chien. Before the War of 1812 he had served as factor at Fort Madison, Iowa. On the abandonment of the factory system in 1822 Johnson removed to St. Louis. His wife was a woman of the Sauk tribe.

Dec. 5th A French Citizen confined and punished at the fort for selling whiskey to hirelings and soldiers contrary to orders[28]
Dec. 10th Mild weather—take a walk to the village just at night—
Dec. 19th—Friday Severe cold Thermometer said to be below cypher, or zero.
Dec. 21t Sabbath remain at home to keep garrison—several ladies visit me[29]
Dec. 23d Moderate weather—rainy—
Dec. 25th Thursday—Christmas—the people here observed it with great exactness some as a holy day, and some as a holiday
Dec. 28th Sabbath—take a walk across the Missisippi and thence to town
Dec. 30th AD. 1817 Started the first mill by water in Prairie du Chien—it is a great wonder to most of the people
Dec. 31t Col. Chambers and other officers visit the mill—bestow many praises upon it
January the first AD. 1818
A new, and may it be a happy year
Farewell to AD. 1817—another year is added to the thousands that have rolled away since time began! — — — —
A new year is ushered in with greetings of happiness—May I indeed have reason to bless it as auspecious, for many years to come.
This, appears to be a proper time to pause and take a retrospect of what is past. — — — —
In reviewing my conduct through the year that is past, with as much impartiality as self is capable of doing, I cannot find a base or unworthy action—A character fair—and conscience clear of intentionaly giving offence, or doing an injury, to any of the Children of men!
And am I then so happy as to be in the "path of Wisdom", so perfect as to need no amendment?—Alas! my consience tells me no; it whis-

[28] Lockwood describes (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, II, 129) one such punishment at the instance of Colonel Chambers. The culprit was "whipped, and with a bottle hung to his neck, marched through the streets, with music playing the Rogue's March after him." A similar affair, wholly to Chambers' discredit, is described in *Ibid*, 229-30.

[29] "To see mill" has been added at this point in the manuscript, evidently at a later time. Shaw's was the first water mill at Prairie du Chien, and hence may well have been an object of interest to the townsmen. Before its erection the people had had resort to "band mills" for grinding flour, the power being supplied by a horse attached to a sweep.

pers the words of Christ, "one thing thou lackest"—for notwithstanding thy self righteousnes, thy soul is in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity!—O! God, it is thou, and thou alone, can cleanse the heart of sin, and draw it out in holy love to thee—suffer me not to remain another year in the stupidity of sin—Save, oh save my soul from endless torment, in Mercy give me grace for the sake of Jesus Christ the Savior and Redemer of sinners, Amen!

Jan. 2^{d} Write to Pardon Kimball and Lewis Newton, send by the express—the gentry visit the mill again—

Jan. 4th Sabbath—Remain at home alone—am visited by about 20 indians and squaws returning from a hunt, give them a little food and tobacco, they in return give me some venison—

Jan 5th commence cutting timber for Roletts mill—hire one man by the name of Fisher—

Jan 7th Several Indians and squaws encamp about ½ mile above us

Jan. 10th—We had considerable sport in killing a large wolf that had infested our doors for some time

Jan. 11th Sabbath—Ride to the village—Mr Johnson loans to me a file of New[s]papers—Severe cold—the frost bites my ears in returning—

Jan. 12th Our Indian neighbors visit often—we generaly give them a little food they bring us some venison to day—

Jan. 13th Andrews leaves here for Roletts mill—some of the Neighbors children come in the evening to learn to read

Jan 14th Weather more moderate

Jan. 19th Start the mill—but little water

" 20th—The water clears away the ice and finds the bottom of the canal—

Jan. 21^{t}—Pleasant weather—the mill run pretty well—Beautiful evening—the moon at the full—let the mill run all night

Jan. 23^{d} Cold, the mill freeses up—go to town, return in the evening and find two lusty indians with Fisher, determined to stay through the night but drive them off—

Jan 25th Sabbath Cold, squally—snow about 3 inches—ride to town in a "cariole" (French Sleigh) on the Missippi—whiskey sells at 6 dollars per gal.—but I am very clear of buying any—return in the evening, and find Fisher very much alarmed by some Indians visiting him and behaving rather uncivil—

Feb. 1t Sabbath. Write a letter to Moses Rice in, Vt.
Feb. 5th Keen Cold weather—Dr Peters makes me a visit — — — — —
Feb. 7th High winds—take a skip across the Prairie to town
Feb. 8th Sabbath—As severe cold I think as I most ever witnesed
Feb 9th fair sun but piercing cold
Feb. 10th A duel fought this morning between Mr O, Fallon,[30] Indian Agent and Lt. Shade[31] of the garrison—the latter recieved the second shot in his under jaw—O, fallon unfortunately escaped without injury
Feb. 15th Sabbath—Col. Chambers lends me a bundle of newspapers—Vt. news—Galusha reelected Gov.—A law about passing to establish three banks—and an abortive attempt to rob, near Brattleboro
Feb. 20th been at work with Mr Andrews for several days, at Rolettes mill—
Feb. 21 Mr J. Shaw's brother arrives from St Louis with several men going to the Pinery for rafting timber
Feb. 22d Sabbath—Washingtons Birthday under pretence of celebrating it, some of the principal charactors get notoriously drunk.
Feb. 27th—Shaw and his party start for the pinery—take Fisher with them who has formerly lived with me.
Evening—Am now entirely alone my nearest Neighbors on one side ½ mile distant on the other a savage wilderness—
" 28th Pleasant weather—Cut out the canal and bring the water on the wheel
March 1t Sabbath—After much hard work, start the mill this morn—very warm weather—the People flock in to see the wonderous mill go by water Evnings when destitute of company spend my time in reading, writing, or mending my stockings—my library consists of a Bible and "Baxter's Call"—two precious books—"Carvers travels" an Almanac, and now and then a borrowed file of Newspapers—
My living at present is prety much as follows—Breakfast, Coffee, Bread, dried Beef and Onions—Dinner, fried Pork, Venison, Potatoes, Bread, &c.—Supper, Coffee—Flapjacks Beef and onions—

[30] Benjamin O'Fallon was a nephew of George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary fame. He seems to have shared Colonel Chambers' reputation for arbitrary conduct, which may account for Keyes' observation upon the outcome of the duel.

[31] William G. Shade of Maryland. He resigned from the service in November, 1818.

March 6th Too cold to grind—dress the stones, they are poor things for grinding

March 8th Sabbath Very warm—People anxious to have grinding, let the mill run—thronged with visitors—

March 10th Rainy by spells all day—Evning steady rain—10 oclock, the flood breaks my waste-gate and stops the mill—My Cellar is full of water and Potatoes drowned—

March 11th A heavy flood last night the dam swept away—Canal broken in many places and a bridge across the Creek has gone down the Missisipi

March 12th—Snow all gone—ground full of water—the Prairie almost impasable—

Eve. 10 oclock—Commences raining very hard

March 13th—Mr Andrews with several men come to assist mending the dam—water very high—we do but little good—

March 14th Clear and cold—work hard at the dam—grind a little—

March 15th Sabbath—Quite Cold—ride to town—Missisippi rising, and breaking

" 18th—Warm—towards night get most of the water turned into the Canal—start the mill. 10 oclock, water fails, stop the mill feel unwell—a pain in my bowels, and sickness at my stomach—

" 19th—Pleasant—dress the stones—in the afternoon start the mill—12 at night commenced raining—

March 22d Sabbath Pleasant—the mill out of order which hinders me from grinding

" 23d dress the mill stones—

" 26th Stop the mill for want of wheet

" 27th Sabbath—Snow and rain together

Sab.Eve.—have been reading "Baxters Call to the Unconverted" his words cary Conviction to the Conscience, but alas! how soon they are forgotten

March 30th Warm and Pleasant—

April 1t People begin to plow their land and sow wheat—

" 4th The mill out of order, by the works settling, Mr- Andrews assists in regulating it

April 5th—Sabbath—Walk to the village—the Prarie quite dry—green herbage just springing up—All Nature looks smiling and gay—

Surely if we have hearts susceptible of gratitude, they would at this time teem with grateful love, to that Benificent Being who gives life and animation to countless Millions!— — —

April 8th Warm and Pleasant—quit the mill for want of Wheat, and work with mr- Andrews

April 10th Return to the mill—

Mr- O' Fallon, Indian Agent, starts for the falls of "St. Anthony" and St Peters river, with two boats and 50 or 60 men, to visit and council with the Souix—

" 12th Sabbath—beautiful weather—

" 14th Quit the mill again— —

" 16th Shaw and Fisher come down from "Black river" in a starving condition—have had bad luck in getting their raft into the Missisippi

April 19th High wind from the North for several days, and cold—

April 22d Col. Chambers orders 4 building lots to be laid off, below the village on the river for the use of Americans—I obtain the 2 choice—purchase some rails and partly enclose it—the Menomine Indians have a meeting or dance—it seems to be of the religious kind—they performed a great many ceremonies the meaning of which I did not comprehend—the speakers delivered their discourses with great rapidity and vehemence some of them continue to harangue more than two hours without intermision— — — —

April 24th—A Boat arrives from St. Louis 35 days—laden with Provisions, Whiskey, dry goods also packets of letters and Newspapers—Whiskey has been sold at 10 or 12 dollars the gallon—many other articles exorbitantly high

April 25th Walk out into the Prairie to see an Indian game at Ball—the Menominies and Winnibagoes play on opposite sides—they display great activity and address in catching and hurling the ball, and mind neither broken bones nor bruises—indeed it is a most vigorous and manly exercise—"Carver gives a particular description of it in his travels— — — the Menomines are victorious 3 times out of 5 and win the prize—

April 26th Sabbath—Indian traders returning from St Peters river and other places the celebrated Col. Dickson[32] comes in with them—

[32] Robert Dickson, noted British-Indian leader in the Northwest. Dickson had great influence with the Sioux, having married the daughter of a Sioux chief. An account of his career is printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 133-53.

lately from "L. Selkerks settlement" he is detained on suspision of transgressing our laws—the militia or "fensibles of Prairie du Chien" mustered—A false alarm at the fort about midnight—to try the spirit of the militia in turning out— —

April 28th O' Fallon returns from council with the Souix. (formerly called Naudowessies)

May 1tt—Warm—Andrews and myself cross the river in a canoe, pass through a narrow slue between two islands—the river about one mile wide—ascend a small stream opposite the town about 2 miles to look for a mill seat—wind high in returning—

May 2 Rather cold—Northwest wind—

May 3d Sabbath Suddenly taken with the Crick, occasioned by taking cold—

A complaint is made to the Indian agent against the Winnibagoes for stealing horses and shooting hogs—they are threatened with confinement and punishment at the fort unless they make restitution

May 4th—Write to my father—work at Roletts mill—Rolette sells the whole of his property in this place to Mr Ayrd[33] a fur trader for $9000

May 5th Evning—have been grinding all day, and continue—the fire is overrunning the country which is always the case here in the spring and autumn—it is slowly decending the hills south of my cabin in a column of more than a mile in length, enlightning the whole valley otherwise dark and cloudy—it is a pleasing though solemn prospect.

May 6th Cool morning, with a little rain and snow—borrow some Newspapers of Mr Johnson

May 9th Dissolve partnership with Mr.- Andrews by mutual consent—raise my price from 25, to 37 ½ cts. per bushel for grinding

" 10th Sabbath Warm and Pleasant—visited by a number of French people at the mill

" 11th—A smart thundershower in the morning—showry all day—there has been no rain for some time before

" 12th Uncommon heavy thunder last night attended with rain—from the best observations I have been able to make, there is not near the quantity of rain falls here, there does in Vt.,—but there is generaly every morning a very large dew—

[33] James Aird, a Scotch trader who had located at Prairie du Chien in the latter part of the eighteenth century. His trade was largely with the Sioux.

May 14th At the mill—beautifuly pleasant weather—Plum, and Cherry trees in full bloom—here I live like a hermit among the mountains, enjoying the Pleasures of solitude and retirement—tend the mill, read and write, prepare my victuals, and work a little

May 15th People are planting their corn—it sells at $6 per bush., Potatoes, at $5 they are miserable farmers—but little better than the Indians—have plenty of good land if they would but cultivate it

May 16th—Rolette, and Ayrd have had an arbitration of several days about their bargin.

May 17th Sabbath—cool and likely for rain

May 20th Dr- Peters not being permited by the authorities here to open his business is obliged tho reluctantly to return; but is still confident he shall ultimately succeed having had private inteligence from several sources that are encouraging—

Write to Mr Thos- Taylor of Newyork City Bowry—likewise to my brother Royal, at Ellicott N.Y.

May 21t Mr Tuthill starts this noon—write to my sister Philinda—am quite unwell—take a potion of Physic of Dr Peirsons—return to the mill—

May 22d had a restless night—about noon just able to crawl to the nearest Neighbors

May 23d—Growing better of my sickness close my business at the mill and remove to the village—have made arrangements to commence a school—limited my engagements to 3 months—30 students subscribed, at $2 per month each—2 large Barges arrive from St Louis

May 24th Sabbath—Commence Board with Mr Fariboult[34] $15 per month

May 25th Commence teaching school have but 2 or 3 pupils, that can speak much English

May 26th Rainy most of the day—the roof of my house leaky

[34] Jean Baptiste Fairbault, a native of Canada who came west in 1798 as an employee of the Northwest Company. About the year 1806 he located at Prairie du Chien, leaving here in 1819 to settle at Fort Snelling. From 1799 (when he was stationed on the Des Moines River) on he was engaged in trade with the Sioux. A county in Minnesota is named in his honor, and the city of Faribault in honor of his son, Alexander, who was born at Prairie du Chien in 1806. An account of Faribault's career is given in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* III, 168-79.

May 27th A heavy rain last night clear and fair in the morn—have about 20 scholars that attend—a few of them can spell considerably—and form letters tolerably correct in writing

May 28th Quite cool for the season requiring a fire in my school—At the mill I was nightly serenaded by Whipperwills—here, it is Indian Powwows—the Copper coulered Natives, are as thick as grasshoppers in a dry autumn—

May 29th Have a tooth rotting, that gives me much inconvenience at meal time—borrow a Dictionary of the French and English Language—

May 31t Sabbath—General muster of the garrison troops—being the last day of the month—the militia are mustered every Sunday—I have not mustered with them yet—nor will I, on the Sabbath if I can avoid it—the Sabbath is used here as a leisure day, when those who do not choose to work, amuse themselves with play and holiday recreations—

THE QUESTION BOX

The Wisconsin Historical Library has long maintained a bureau of historical information for the benefit of those who care to avail themselves of the service it offers. In "The Question Box" will be printed from time to time such queries, with the answers made to them, as possess sufficient general interest to render their publication worth while.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME "WISCONSIN"

Do you issue any literature on the subject of the origin of the name "Wisconsin?" This subject of names is one of great interest to me and, strange as it may seem, it is quite difficult to obtain reliable information as to the origin of our states' names.

FREDERICK W. LAWRENCE
Brooklyn, New York

Wisconsin is named for its principal river, but the origin of that name has never been satisfactorily determined. It had over twenty spellings on the early maps ranging from "Miscous" to the ordinary French form "Ouisconsin," Anglicized as "Wisconsin." An early governor of the state insisted on the form "Wiskonsan" until the present spelling was established by legal enactment.

The United States board on geographic names gives the significance as "wild, rushing river"; this is not accepted by our archeologists, however, all the more that the portion of the river first seen and named was not of that character. A member of the Society's research staff is working out a theory of the name, but is not yet prepared to publish it.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SINSINAWA

I write you today for information which is of vital interest to us at the present time. In March, 1918 among the Indian names given to ships by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, "Sinsinawa" attracted our attention. At our request and through the courtesy of an official of the United States Shipping board, Saint Clara College was accorded the honor of naming

the sponsor for this ship. The *Sinsinawa* was intended for war service, but after the armistice the plans were changed to make it a cargo ship. The ship was built between January, 1919 and the present date and was scheduled to be launched on September 6, 1919. A member of our alumnæ was appointed sponsor and had the honor of christening the vessel at the Hog Island shipyards on the date named. All of this has brought the name "Sinsinawa" very prominently to our interest and we are now desirous of celebrating the event in a particular way. For this reason I am interested in obtaining all the information which your records may be able to afford us; below I am enumerating under separate heads the details about which I should like to have special information.

I. A complete history of the name "Sinsinawa."
   1. Whether name of a chief, maiden, or what.
   2. The Indian dialect to which the name belongs.
   3. The meaning in the Indian language.
   4. Why applied to the mound which bears the name.
   5. When first used.

II. Association of the name with events in the history of the territory of Wisconsin.

III. Association of the name with events in the history of the state of Wisconsin.
   1. Association of the name with events in the history of Grant County.

IV. Date of establishing the post office bearing this name.
   1. Names of persons responsible for the establishing of post office.

V. Local history of interest, if there is any.

VI. Names of citizens and legislators of the territory or state of Wisconsin associated in any way with the history of the place.

VII. If there are any Indian traditions or recorded historical facts relating to the place while this section of Wisconsin was still a part of Michigan, we should be glad to have whatever your files may contain.

Sister M. Clementine
Saint Clara College, Sinsinawa

The following report, taking up in order the several points noted in your inquiry concerning the history of Sinsinawa, has been prepared by Miss Kellogg of our research staff:

I. *Bulletin of United States Geographical Survey*, No. 197, p. 239 gives the origin as "Sinsiawe," meaning rattlesnake. It does not give the name of the tribe, but we incline to think it is a Sauk and Fox word. All the region around there was the Sauk and Fox mining ground. The mound took its name from the creek, and this name was first applied to the former by Gen. George Wallace Jones when in 1827 he leased a thousand acres containing the mound. The creek

first appears upon a map of the lead mines drawn in 1829. It is there spelled "Sinsineua." See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 400. Other spellings are "Sinsinewa," "Sinsinniwa," and "Sinsinnawa." General Jones states that the Indians accented the next to the last syllable.

II, III. During the early period of Wisconsin history Sinsinawa was known as the home of General Jones. The best authority on his career is Parish, *Life of George Wallace Jones*, Iowa Biographical Series. The Jones manuscripts belong to the Iowa Historical Society. You may secure additional information from them. The property you now possess passed directly from Jones to Father Mazzuchelli about 1844. The records of your institution must supply the local history of the place in its later years.

IV. The first post office was established in 1835 when General Jones was territorial delegate from Michigan. He was himself postmaster and his emoluments were $1.92. In 1837 William P. Ruggles was postmaster. In 1839 no such office was reported. In 1841 Charles Swift was postmaster, receiving 76 cents, with net proceeds $1.82. After that date there was no post office bearing the name Sinsinawa Mounds until 1857 when Thomas L. Powers was appointed postmaster and kept the place until 1865 when he was succeeded by O. S. Brady.

V, VI, VII. The region of Sinsinawa Creek is that of the earliest lead mining by the Indians that is known. See account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 271-92. Old Buck, the Indian who discovered the Buck lead, was living on Sinsinawa Creek in 1828. There is a local tradition that an American trader was killed at Sinsinawa during the War of 1812, probably on some branch of the creek. All of the Indians of this region were then in the British interest, and no "Long Knife," as they called the Americans, was safe if his nationality was known. This tradition may thus probably be true. In 1832 a log fort was built at General Jones's place, and there on June 29 three men working in a field without the fort were attacked by Indians and after a brief skirmish two of them were killed. The names are given differently by different authorities; some say John Thompson and James Boxley; others Lovell and Maxwell. It is possible all four were victims of the war, since one authority (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 192) says four men lost their lives at Sinsinawa during the Black Hawk War.

General Jones is the only man of prominence, so far as we know, who lived at Sinsinawa. However, he had as visitors most of the prominent men of the territory. In his autobiography, published in Parish's book, he tells of visits from Henry Dodge, the Gratiots, Jefferson Davis, and others.

OLD TRAILS AROUND EAU CLAIRE

As chairman of the National Old Trails Roads of the Eau Claire chapter of the D. A. R. I have been advised by the state chairman to ask you for help in securing information in regard to old trails in Eau Claire County or vicinity. We are in our infancy as a chapter, having been organized only a little over a year, and while we are most anxious to do our part we are sadly in need of guidance by those of greater experience.

If you can give me any information in regard to the old trails or advise me as to where I may secure such aid, I shall be very grateful.

IDA LINTON HAINER
Eau Claire

We are glad to make such suggestions as we can concerning the early trails. The exact locating of these trails is, however, such a local matter that we can only give general directions to be worked out by recourse to old settlers and local authorities.

The valley of the Chippewa is, historically considered, one of the most interesting and one of the oldest locations in Wisconsin history. The lower part was the scene during one hundred years of the great contest between the Chippewa and Sioux tribes wherein the former gradually pushed the latter back to the Mississippi. If you can secure *Minnesota Historical Collections*, V, you can read about it in the account of the Chippewa historian, William Warren. His sisters are still living near White Earth, Minnesota, and perhaps you could obtain information from them. Address Theodore H. Beaulieu, and ask him if Mrs. English or her sisters can give you any information.

The first English traveler in Wisconsin, Captain Jonathan Carver, ascended the Chippewa in 1766. He says that about thirty miles from its mouth the river branches and that between the two branches ran the great Road of War between the Chippewa and the Sioux. The boundary between the two peoples was settled at the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1825. It began half a day's march below the falls, thence to the St. Croix. It would be interesting for you to locate that boundary. The half a day's march below the falls is said

to have been at the mouth of Mud Creek near Rumsey's Landing. There was an overland trail from Lake Pepin to Menomonie and probably on to the Chippewa, used by the early lumbermen; probably Mr. Henry E. Knapp of Menomonie could give you information about that. The first mail route was opened in 1850. Some of your old settlers might be able to trace that out for you.

Mrs. Hainer of this city has shown me your letter in which you state your belief that the point on the Chippewa River established by treaty as dividing the lands of the Sioux or Dakota Indians from that of the Chippewa was at Rumsey's Landing at the mouth of Mud Creek.

We in Eau Claire have always believed that it was the rocky bluff in our city near the Normal School and at the mouth of Little Niagara Creek. This answers the description of being "half a day's march below the falls of the Chippewa River"—about 12 miles by the trail. I also feel sure that in some old work I have read that this point was "one mile below the mouth of the Eau Claire River." A "day's march" was supposed to be from 20 to 25 miles, carrying packs of moderate weight as the Indians did on all ordinary journeys. Mud Creek would, I think, be too far to answer the description as being "half a day's march."

I have taken some interest in such matters—such as the origin of the name Eau Galle—or Ogalla—spelled in several different ways. I saw a very old document written at that place which to my mind throws some light on this name and its origin.

ROBERT K. BOYD
Eau Claire

The statement made in our letter to Mrs. Hainer concerning the location of the Chippewa-Sioux treaty boundary was based on printed sources. In 1875 T. E. Randall of your city published a series of articles on the history of the Chippewa Valley in the *Free Press*. These were collected into a volume and his statements form the basis of later local histories, such as *History of Northern Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1881), "Eau Claire County," 295; *History of the Chippewa Valley* (Chicago, 1891-92), 38.

Your letter affords just the kind of reaction it is desirable to invoke. We at Madison cannot decide on points of local history and topography. We are desirous of having local interest aroused in these matters. Perhaps you can find some early settler of Eau Claire who can corroborate either your point of view or that of Mr. Randall. Kindly keep the Society informed if you are able to obtain more information on this matter. We shall also be pleased to have any information you can give us on the origin of the word "Eau Galle."

I think Mr. Randall is mistaken in fixing the dividing point between the lands of the Sioux Indians and the Chippewa "at or near the mouth of Mud Creek near Rumsey's Landing." The treaty describes it as being "half a day's march below the Falls of the Chippewa River." I came on the river in 1868 and to Eau Claire in 1871, and the traditions at that time were that the dividing place was the rocky bluff at the mouth of Little Niagara Creek which is, in fact, half a day's march, 12 to 13 miles, below Chippewa Falls. A day's march of ordinary travel, carrying packs of moderate weight and on a trail, was from 20 to 25 miles.

This view is supported by the language of the much-talked-of Carver's deed, which in giving one distance says, "going east five days' march counting 20 English miles a day." From Chippewa Falls to Rumsey's Landing is certainly a full day's march, as I know from experience, having walked the distance on several occasions. Chippewa Falls was often visited by Indians in the sixties and early seventies but none ever came to Eau Claire; it was often said that they did not consider it safe—that they were still a little afraid of the Sioux, who had a village at that time on the Mississippi near Wabashaw.

An incident under my own observation will illustrate this point. In 1870 while going down river on a raft of lumber we approached Little Niagara Bluff. In the crew were several of mixed blood; one of these, Simon Chevalier was nearly a full-blood Chippewa and an odd character. As we approached this bluff one of the half breeds called out in a mixture of English, French, and Chippewa, "Hello Simon, prenez gar ah Bwahnuk": "Look out for the Sioux" ("Bwahn," Sioux—"uk" plural).

I also remember reading in some old work, which I cannot now identify, that this dividing point was "one mile below the mouth of the Eau Claire River," and if this is true history, it would seem that our traditions must be correct.

Mr. Randall speaks of Carson and Rand and of Capt. George C. Wales who built a mill on the Eau Galle River. There have been many conjectures as to the origin and meaning of the name Eau Galle, which has been spelled in almost all possible ways.

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. W. Lockwood, whose wife is a daughter of the late William Carson, I have been furnished with a copy of a lumber contract, dated June 10, 1844, made by George C. Wales, Henry Eaton, and William Carson, who sold a season's cut of lumber to Benjamin W. Brunson. This contract, I think, gives a clue to the origin of the name, which is spelled "Augalett" and also "Augallett." If this was intended for Au Galet (pronounced *o galay*) the meaning of the word seems plain. The word "galet" is defined as meaning what is known in Scotland as shingle, a bed or ridge of course gravel or pebbles, usually on the seashore. Many of our rivers were named by the French voyageurs from Prairie du Chien, and so our Eau Claire River was called "La Riviere de l'Eau Claire." There is a heavy gravel bar at the mouth of the Eau Galle River, and it seems natural that they should name the stream "La Riviere au Galet," the River at the Gravel Bank. Mr. Lockwood has submitted this hypothesis to the present William Carson, and he believes it to be the correct view.

Robert K. Boyd
Eau Claire

WINNEBAGO VILLAGES ON ROCK RIVER

In Volume XX of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, p. 350, in an official report of Mr. Brevoort, Indian agent at Green Bay, he mentions the Winnebago village of Kuskawoinanqua and locates it one hundred miles south from Portage, with a population of 200 persons. He also locates a village of "Rock River Winnebago" sixty miles south from Portage, with a population of 150 persons. The latter may have been the village of White Crow on the west shore of Koshkonong Lake which in fact is Rock River.

"Kuskawoinanqua" may have been the Turtle Village of the Winnebago, which was situated on the present site of Beloit Junction and occupied that site at the date of the Brevoort report. I have sought in vain for information concerning the village of "Kuskawoinanqua." No mention is made of it elsewhere in the *Collections*. I believe no Winnebago glossary has been published, although I understand Nicolas Boilvin a century ago prepared and forwarded to the Indian Department a collection of Winnebago terms and definitions. Have you any memoranda in the Historical Library throwing any light on the Turtle Village other than what has been published? Can you suggest the probable meaning of the noun "Kuskawoinanqua"?

I would gladly visit the library to consult authorities that might enlighten me.

CORNELIUS BUCKLEY,
Beloit

Miss Kellogg of the Society's research staff has prepared the following report upon the subject of your recent inquiry:

The Rock River Winnebago villages are to me an insolvable puzzle. I am inclined to think that Brevoort's information was at fault, and that by "Kuskawoinanque" he was giving a form of Koshkonong, but certainly the distances do not carry out this hypothesis. The vocabulary of Nicolas Boilvin has disappeared. We have had every search made for it in Washington with no success. We have in this library a manuscript Winnebago vocabulary compiled (or rather written down) by Dr. L. C. Draper from information obtained from Thomas J. George, an Indian trader, and from other sources. This vocabulary gives the Winnebago word for Beloit as Ki-chunk-ne-shun-muck-er-rah, Turtle Creek or River—not much like "Kuskawoinanque."

We have another manuscript document that only adds to the confusion, yet this latter must be considered authentic. It was written October 1, 1829 by John Harris Kinzie, Indian subagent at Fort Winnebago. He gives the Kosh-ko-o-nong [*sic*] village as

distant sixty miles from Fort Winnebago, with its chief as Little Priest. On Turtle River sixty-five miles is White Crow's village with 600 Indians—the largest village he mentions. The next village is at the mouth of Sugar Creek, sixty-five miles, then the Sycamore village, seventy-five miles, and Sugar Camp, one hundred and twenty. He mentions none at the distance of one hundred miles. Where, by the way, can the White Crow village have been? The distance is all right for Carcajou Point; if the trail led to the Koshkonong village in Albion Township of Dane County, Carcajou Point was five miles beyond, but why call it Turtle River village? Any village on Turtle Creek would have been more than sixty-five miles from Fort Winnebago. I can assume that Brevoort was mistaken; he lived at Green Bay, had no dealings with Rock River Winnebago, but Kinzie in 1829 was their own agent. I have never been able to come to any satisfactory conclusion on this subject. If you have any light thereon, we would be glad to receive it.

COMMUNICATIONS

RECOLLECTIONS OF CHIEF MAY-ZHUC-KE-GE-SHIG

The brief account of Chief May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig in your December issue recalls the pleasant vacations that for some years I spent on the White Earth Reservation. I there met many Indians of the Chippewa tribe, for the most part of mixed blood, some of whom were well educated and accustomed to the conveniences and some of the luxuries of our twentieth century civilization. I remember with particular pleasure John W. Carl (a nephew of the old chief whose passing you record) and his charming wife. Mr. Carl was then residing in Mahnomen, Minnesota, where he held the office of county auditor. Educated for the bar, he never practiced so far as I know. He retained complete mastery of his native Chippewa, and it was through him that I met and talked with May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig. The Chief may have known a little English, but, Indian-like, he gave no evidence that he understood a word that I said. However, thanks to the skilful interpreting of Mr. Carl, the interviews were entirely satisfactory to me.

His nephew told me that the Chief had known personally every president of the United States from Lincoln to Roosevelt. He quite frequently went to Washington on behalf of his people, and more than one president called him into conference on matters relating to Indian affairs. His moderation, good judgment, and friendliness to the whites were recognized by the federal officials. On some of these trips to the Nation's capital he was accompanied by Mr. Carl, who acted as interpreter. The old Chief always made a deep impression wheresoever he went. On several occasions he attended the theater, attracting more attention than any of the political notabilities.

And small wonder, in such a setting; even in old age he was the finest specimen of his race that it has been my good fortune to encounter. Fully six feet in height, he was of large frame and as straight as an arrow. His noble head was a study worthy of a master's brush. When I first met him he wore a neat frock coat, flannel shirt, moccasins, and black felt hat. In much the same garb

he undoubtedly appeared in Washington in later life. President Roosevelt, especially, took a great fancy to him.

The Chief, so Mr. Carl told me, possessed in a degree remarkable even in an Indian the power of oratory; and this gift was exercised more than once to quiet the restlessness of the tribesmen. He was the white man's friend and his memory should be suitably honored.

I like the photograph of May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig which I presented to the Society some years ago better than the one you have reproduced in your December issue.

JOHN THOMAS LEE
Chicago

GENERAL PORTER AND GENERAL PARKER

In the article entitled "General Grant and Early Galena" in the September, 1919 issue of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY occurs an error which should not go uncorrected. I refer to Mr. Evans' statement that among the friends of Grant at Galena prior to the Civil War was "Colonel Porter, a West Point man, then superintending the erection of a postoffice at Galena"; and, further on, the statement that Porter, "who was partly of Oneida Indian blood," served as an officer on General Grant's staff in the Civil War. It will certainly surprise the many friends of General Porter, and General Porter himself, to learn that he is of "Oneida Indian blood" or in any way of Indian descent.

The mistake has probably arisen by confusing the name of Porter with that of General Ely S. Parker, who served with Porter on Grant's staff. General Parker was Grant's military secretary during the later portion of the Civil War and in this capacity made the first engrossed copy of the terms of capitulation of General Lee at Appomattox. He was an Indian, a Seneca, the son of a chief, and himself the last grand sachem of the Iroquois Confederacy.[1] He received an excellent education in the schools of New York and having become a civil engineer was in the employ of the federal government for several years prior to the war. In 1857 he was sent to Galena to superintend the construction of a customs house and a marine hospi-

[1] A life of General Parker has recently been published as Vol. XXIII of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*.—ED.

tal; here he remained several years and here he made the acquaintance of Captain Grant, then employed in the family leather business at this place. The career of General Horace Porter is too well known to call for extended comment. He comes of a prominent Pennsylvania family (his father was twice governor of the state) of Irish origin. He graduated at West Point in 1860, like Parker served on Grant's staff, won distinction by his service, and like Parker served later as Grant's executive secretary. Unless Mr. Lacher made a mistake (a thing which the similarity of the names would readily account for) in reporting Mr. Evans' recollections, it seems evident that the latter in old age memory confused General Parker, whom he doubtless knew, with General Horace Porter.

J. S. Anderson
Manitowoc

THE PRESERVATION OF WISCONSIN'S FIRST CAPITOL

The state house at Old Belmont, which was moved from its original site across the public highway about thirty years ago and used for the main building of a barn, has been moved back to its former site and is now in process of restoration.

A bill was introduced in the Wisconsin legislature of 1917 asking for an appropriation to purchase two acres of land, including the site of the old capitol, move the building back to its former site, and restore it as nearly as possible to its original shape.

The bill asked for $12,000; had this sum been appropriated, the park would have been enclosed with an appropriate fence, planted with trees, a care-taker's lodge erected, and such other improvements begun as would have made it one of the most attractive and interesting places in the state. But so much interest was being centered on the impending war that for a while it seemed doubtful whether any appropriation would be made. As finally passed the bill carried an appropriation of only $3,000. This sum was so much less than had been asked for that the question of abandoning the project was seriously considered. But the Commission felt assured that if the work was begun and carried out as far as the money appropriated would allow, future legislatures would appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the plan originally intended.

There was much delay in procuring a clear title to the land. It was found that one David Wright, well known to the older citizens of this locality, kept a saloon near the old capitol building, some fifty years ago. The building in which the saloon was kept was burned down many years ago. It appeared that he had some claim on the lot on which his saloon stood, and when the farm was sold this lot was excepted. It was also found that a number of Wright's heirs were still living in different parts of the country, and it took over a year to procure quitclaim deeds from them.

Considering the hard usage the old capitol has undergone since it was built eighty-three years ago, it is still in a fairly good condition. With the exception that the lower floor and the battlement had been entirely removed and that a portion of one of the sills had to be renewed, the frame work was found to be as solid as on the day it was first put in. It is said that the lumber used in the building was brought from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, down the Ohio and up the Mississippi by steamboat to Galena and hauled by team to the site of the old capitol.

The Belmont Capitol Commission, appointed by Governor Philipp, composed of State Chief Engineer John G. D. Mack, Insurance Commissioner Platt Whitman of Madison, and M. P. Rindlaub of Platteville, held a meeting at the old capitol on October 17, 1919 and took the necessary steps for restoring the building as much as the small portion of the appropriation left will permit.

The building erected for the territorial supreme court is in the immediate vicinity and is still in a good state of preservation. It was remodeled somewhat and used for many years after the capital was changed to Madison as a residence by the late Charles Dunn, who was at that time chief justice of Wisconsin. It was in this building that the first governor of the state of Wisconsin, Nelson Dewey, was married to Miss Kate, daughter of Judge Dunn.

The present owner of the building has just completed a new residence, and unless steps are taken by the state to procure the old building and move it to the lot now occupied by the old capitol, it may soon be torn down. It is to be hoped than an appropriation may be made to procure title to this building before it is too late.

M. P. Rindlaub

Platteville

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

During the three months' period ending January 10, 1920 there were sixty-seven additions to the membership roll of the State Historical Society. Twelve of this number enrolled as life members, as follows: John A. Bardon, Superior; Rev. Theodore A. Boerner, Port Washington; John Charles, Denver, Colorado; Benjamin F. Faast, Eau Claire; Howard T. Greene, Genesee Depot; Dr. Albert J. Hodgson, Waukesha; Milton M. Jones, Racine; Major C. Mead, Plymouth; John L. Osborn, Lawrence, Kansas; Wilbur A. Sisson, Ripon; Morten M. Steensland, Madison; Monroe A. Wertheimer, Kaukauna.

The following fifty-five persons joined as annual members of the Society: Rev. Joseph Allard, Arkansaw; George C. Astle, Baraboo; Dr. A. E. Bachhuber, Mayville; Prof. W. G. Bleyer, Madison; Robert K. Boyd, Eau Claire; Harry L. Butler, Madison; Rev. Louis B. Colman, Neillsville; Harrison G. Davies, Watertown; Charles J. Dexter, Milwaukee; Stephen H. Dooley, Ladysmith; Roy Drew, Coloma; Eli E. Fischer, Watertown; Cameron W. Frazier, Menomonee Falls; Max H. Gaebler, Watertown; William J. Gaynor, Waukesha; Frank L. Gilbert, Madison; Joseph B. Goldbach, Milwaukee; George E. Haff, Red Granite; Robert W. Haight, Waukesha; Rev. Floyd R. Harding, Black River Falls; Rev. John W. Harris, Portage; John A. Hazelwood, Madison; Joseph H. Hill, Menasha; R. A. Hollister, Oshkosh; Rev. Ivor G. Hyndman, South Milwaukee; James R. Jensen, Janesville; Rev. Henry Johnson, Racine; Miss Edith R. Jones, Hancock; Rev. William P. Leek, Fond du Lac; Miss Katherine L. McLaughlin, Madison; Roujet D. Marshall, Madison; Julius F. Melaas, Stoughton; George F. Peffer, Waukesha; Dr. Francis J. Pope, Racine; Rev. Robert Pow, De Soto; Edward Premo, Coloma; James F. Prentiss, Watertown; Knut A. Rene, Madison; Prof. H. S. Richards, Madison; Mrs. R. J. Russell, La Crosse; Mrs. Harriet C. Schultz, Osseo; Rev. J. Graham Sibson, Augusta; Albert E. Smith, Madison; James W. Smith, Osseo; DeWitt Stanford, Elkhorn; Elbert W. Stridde, Niagara; Nicholas Thauer, Watertown; Henry M. Thomas, Racine; E. Arthur Travis, Waukesha; G. F. William Ungrodt, Medford; Ralph H. Volkman, Ojibwa; Miss Jessie E. Warnes, Milwaukee; Prof. Allen B. West, Milton Junction; Rev. Arthur D. Willett, Glenwood City; Oscar Wilson, Menomonie.

Figures presented at the annual meeting of the Society in October showed that forty life and one hundred sixty-five annual members had come into the Society during the year under review. This notable increase was chiefly due to the labors of the special membership committee directed by Curator J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha. That committee could have accomplished little, however, but for the fine response to its appeals and coöperation in its work accorded by scores of members of the Society during the preceding year. The committee was continued by the board of curators, and in December, 1919 a renewed drive for new members was opened by it. The results to date are shown in the figures and names recorded above. Since the renewed membership drive began Mr. Lacher of Waukesha has been responsible for adding seven persons to the membership roll, and Dr. W. F. Whyte of Madison, five. Mr. W. K. Coffin of Eau Claire, R. B. Lang of Racine, J. H. McManus of Coloma, and F. M. Smith of Osseo have each turned in two new members. We propose to print in the "Survey" from time to time the names of those members of the Society who distinguish themselves by their zeal in procuring new members. We shall be delighted to hear from any who are desirous of displacing Mr. Lacher from his present position of leadership in this matter.

The death toll of the Society for the quarter just closed numbers six of its old-time members. Mr. R. G. Deming, one of our oldest members and long a resident of Madison, died at Twin Bluffs, December 2, 1919. For many years Mr. Deming conducted the Northwestern Business College at Madison, now known as the Capital City Commercial College.

James G. Flanders, for half a century a leading Milwaukee lawyer and for fifteen years a member of the Society, died January 1, 1920. Mr. Flanders was active in politics and a friend and supporter of many educational and other community activities. He was for many years a member, and for several years president, of the board of trustees of the Milwaukee Public Library.

John E. Morgan of Spring Green, former state assemblyman and University regent and for fifteen years a member of the Society, died at his home December 30, 1919. Mr. Morgan was a native of Ohio but had resided in Wisconsin since 1854.

Mr. A. E. Proudfit, president of the First National Bank of Madison, died from a stroke of apoplexy, December 22, 1919. During most of his life Mr. Proudfit had been a resident of Madison, where his father had likewise been a leading business man and citizen. The elder Proudfit was the builder of a large portion of the state capitol which preceded the present structure.

Frank J. Finucane of Antigo died at his home early in December. He had long been a leading lawyer of Langlade County and had served as city attorney, president of the local library board, and member of the board of education.

John Schuette of Manitowoc, leading business man and five times mayor of his home city, died in December after a brief illness. Mr. Schuette was a native of Germany; he came to America in childhood and achieved substantial success in the country of his adoption.

The *Proceedings* of the Society at its sixty-seventh annual meeting, held October 23, 1919, was sent to the printer at the beginning of the new year. The outstanding feature of the day was the annual address before the Society, delivered by Major General William G. Haan, commander of the Red Arrow Division in the World War. The address was given in the University armory to an audience which filled the large room and a special feature of which was a group of three hundred Red Arrow veterans who had served with General Haan overseas. At the business session of the Society held in the afternoon Judge E. Ray Stevens of Madison was elected president for the ensuing three-year term. The annual report made by the Superintendent of the Society for the year ending September 30, 1919 showed a greater accession of members and likewise a greater growth of the Library than in any previous year of the Society's history. On the suggestion of the Superintendent provision was made for an important expansion of the Society's research and publication activities through the creation of an editorial division, Mr. Quaife being elected to the newly-created office of editor of the Society. The president was directed to appoint a committee of five curators to nominate a superintendent to succeed the present incumbent.

Bruce E. Mahan of the University of Iowa spent some days working in the Society's newspaper and manuscript collections during December. Mr. Mahan is engaged upon a history of Fort Crawford, which may eventually appear as one of the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Willoughby M. Babcock, chief of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, paid a somewhat extended visit to Madison in December for the purpose of studying methods and practices in vogue in the Wisconsin Historical Museum. Mr. Babcock is the successor of Ruth Roberts who went from the Society's museum to take charge of the Minnesota Historical Society's museum a year or more ago. More recently Miss Roberts resigned this position in order to take up the career of homemaker.

The Society had the pleasure of a visit in the month of December from Father Philip Gordon, missionary to the Chippewa Indians in northern Wisconsin. Father Gordon was born at the town of Gordon, named for his father's family. His mother is a Chippewa and he himself is a member of the Bad River band of that nation. His Indian name is Ti-bish-ko-ge-zick, which means "looking into the sky," an appropriate term for a sky pilot, although he received it when a child, before determining his profession. He was named in honor of an uncle on his mother's side of the family. His grandfather was born at the old La Pointe village on Madeline Island and was interpreter for Father, later Bishop, Baraga, the early nineteenth century apostle to the Wisconsin Indians. The name was originally Gaudin, of French origin, but it has become Anglicized into Gordon.

Father Gordon passed his boyhood in the woods of northern Wisconsin; at the age of thirteen he was sent to St. Paul to be educated. Later he studied in Europe at Rome, Innsbruck, and Bonn. Now in the prime of life he is devoting himself to the uplifting of his people and to helping them to a fuller and richer life. When asked if he was interested in the old Indian traditions he replied, "Yes, but they must be preserved in books, not in men." Father Gordon makes his headquarters at Reserve on Lake Court d'Oreilles; he officiates however at six chapels: one at Reserve; two on the Lac du Flambeau reservation; one at the mouth of Yellow River, for the St. Croix band; one on Mud Lake in Rusk County; and one at the Old Post, so-called, on the west branch of Chippewa River. This latter place is called by the Indians "Pakwaywang," meaning "a widening in the river"; it is about fourteen miles east of Reserve in section thirty-two of township forty, range six west.

Father Gordon ministers to the Court d'Oreilles band, the Lac du Flambeau band, and the St. Croix band of Chippewa, the latter of whom have no settled homes and many of whom are still pagans. He is an ardent advocate of Americanization and of creating in the Indians a desire for a better standard of life. Most of the Chippewa can read and write, over ninety per cent being literate. In the Court d'Oreilles band the oldest full blood is Anakwat (The Cloud), who lives at the post. Both he and Gaw-ge-ga-bi of Round Lake are much respected because of their age and wisdom. The orator of this band is Billy Boy, who lives at Reserve and speaks beautiful Chippewa. Father Gordon says there is as much difference between the common language of the reservation and that of the orator as there is between the slang of our street Arabs and the literary idiom of our best writers. He says Billy Boy is a master of Chippewa; his language is sonorous and beautiful, full of original terms and lofty similes.

Father Gordon thinks prohibition will save the Indian race; improvement in manners and morals has been noticeable since this

measure became effective. He is very proud of his boys who served in the European War, five of whom lost their lives on the battle fields of France. He is collecting their letters and reminiscences for the Wisconsin War History Commission and promises to write an article on "The Chippewa in the World War."

Recently Father Gordon made a visit to the Potawatomi Indians of eastern Wisconsin, who have been so long neglected both by the government and by missionary agencies. At Soperton in Forest County he met the representatives of this tribe, most of whom are still pagan, and discussed plans for a mission. There are about three hundred Potawatomi living in Forest and in northern Marinette counties, some of whom have recently joined this band from their Kansas home. Their only missionary to the present time has been the Reverend Erik O. Morstad of the Lutheran missions. The government recently acknowledged the claims of the Wisconsin Potawatomi to a share in the tribal funds, and it is hoped that they may be raised from the conditions of poverty and degradation into which they have fallen. Dr. Carlos Montezuma of Chicago accompanied Father Gordon on his visit to the Potawatomi. The former is a member of the Society of American Indians and, like the latter, an enthusiastic advocate of making the Indians citizens and responsible for their own development.

The diamond jubilee of the First Evangelical Church of Racine was celebrated with appropriate services November 19-23, 1919. The beginning of this church dates back to September, 1844, when an Evangelical preacher visited Racine and preached to a small group of Evangelicals gathered in a home on the site of the present high school building.

The *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee celebrated its fiftieth anniversary and the diamond jubilee of the establishment of the diocese and archdiocese of Milwaukee by publishing on December 13, 1919 a thirty-two page edition with many illustrations. A sixteen-page historical section presented numerous articles on the history and development of Catholicism in Wisconsin.

The movement initiated last summer jointly by the Wisconsin Archeological and Historical societies and the Milwaukee Museum looking to the public preservation of the site of ancient Aztalan gives present promise of tangible results in the near future. The Historical Landmarks Committee created by the State Historical Society at the October, 1919 meeting has undertaken to stir up public sentiment on the subject and during the early winter conducted a vigorous cam-

paign, with a view to inducing the local county authorities to take action for securing either part or all of the site for the public.

On October 24, 1919 a celebration and homecoming was held at Mount Vernon, Dane County, to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the towns of Primrose and Springdale. Both towns were first settled in 1844, and since the village of Mount Vernon lies on the boundary line between them, it was decided to hold the joint celebration there. Some years ago Honorable John S. Donald, a native of Springdale, secured for the place Washington and Lincoln elms. For the recent celebration he provided a General Pershing tree, which he had brought from France. The homecoming proved an interesting and enjoyable occasion to all who attended. Credit for arranging the event and carrying out the program is due Albert O. Barton and John S. Donald of Madison.

In erecting a statue to Brigadier General Erastus B. Wolcott Milwaukee does honor to one of Wisconsin's worthy pioneer citizens. Born in New York in 1804, General Wolcott studied medicine and in 1836 became a surgeon in the regular army. In 1839 he resigned and settled in Milwaukee where he continued to reside until his death in 1880. Appointed a surgeon in the territorial militia in 1842, he rose by successive steps to the rank of major general and during the Civil War and for many years thereafter held the important office of surgeon-general of the state. He held also, at different times, numerous other positions of public trust, among them regent of the state university and vice president of the State Historical Society. The statue to General Wolcott was placed in Lake Park in November, 1919. Formal unveiling exercises will be held in the spring of 1920.

Edwin O. Kimberley, a soldier of the Civil War and long a resident of Janesville, died at Madison, December 24, 1919. Mr. Kimberley was a good friend of the State Historical Society and twice in recent months bestowed important gifts of historical material upon it. His gift of the unique collection of the "blizzard" press of Dakota is described in the March, 1919 issue of this magazine, pp. 331-32. In the same issue (p. 370) is an account of the presentation of an important collection of Civil War letters, while a few months earlier Mr. Kimberley presented to the Society an interesting group of pictures of members of the famous military band of which he was the leader. If all citizens of Wisconsin were as mindful of the interests of their Historical Library as Mr. Kimberley was, its collections would soon increase to manyfold their present size and value.

On October 23, 1919 the one-hundredth birthday anniversary of Mrs. Philetta Bean was charmingly observed at the Wisconsin Veterans' Home at Waupaca. Letters of congratulation were read from Secretary Tumulty, General Pershing, ex-Governors Upham and Scofield, Governor Philipp, Senator Lenroot, Judge Winslow, General King, and others. A native of New York, Mrs. Bean came with her husband to Wisconsin in 1843. They located at Stevens Point when it was an obscure lumbering village, and most of Mrs. Bean's life has been passed in this immediate vicinity. Two of her sons were soldiers in the Fifth Wisconsin Infantry during the Civil War.

Carl Quickert, whose plan for bringing out a history of Washington County was noted in a former issue of the magazine, writes under date of December 17, 1919 that lack of space has prevented publishing the history in his paper, the West Bend *News*. Accordingly estimates are being awaited on the cost of printing the work as a separate volume, the manuscript being now ready for the printer. Mr. Quickert concludes: "I shall, of course, remember the Historical Society with a copy of the work as soon as it comes out."

What rôle Wisconsin's German-born or German-descended citizens would play in the World War upon which the United States embarked in the spring of 1917 was for some time a matter of anxious speculation on the part of many citizens and at least some officials of the United States. Now, less than three years later, the effective answer these same Wisconsin German-Americans made to the query finds graphic illustration in an attractive volume from the Press Publishing Company of Sheboygan entitled *Co. C, 127 Infantry, in the World War*. For the information of the world beyond Wisconsin's borders we note that Sheboygan is one of Wisconsin's lake-shore German counties and Company C was the national guard company of Sheboygan City; further, that its captain bore the Teutonic name of "Schmidt"; and that scattered over its muster roll are such names as Jerzewski, Bauer, Berndt, Bluemke, Bunge, Chieffo, Chudobba, Demopoulos, Engelhardt, Knauf, etc. What these sons of Wisconsin and their associates did to the followers of the German eagle on the battle fields of France is thrillingly recorded in the company history before us, the material, aside from official data, being furnished by Captain Schmidt. What the German soldiers did to Company C is in part tragically revealed by the long necrology roll near the close of the volume. The fine record of achievement which Sheboygan's favorite company made in the war is fittingly preserved in this volume.

The civilization of the Indian, for which leaders like Father Gordon and Carlos Montezuma are striving, goes on apace. An interesting bit of local evidence to this effect may be found in a tombstone inscription in the cemetery on the Oneida reservation near Green Bay. It is as follows:

> Nancy Skenandore. Born at Oneida, June 13, 1861. Graduated from the Hartford, Connecticut Training School for nurses in 1890. Practiced her profession in Connecticut and as superintendent of the Oneida Indian Mission Hospital until 1906.
>
> Died September 2, 1908.
>
> This memorial erected by the Connecticut Indian Association, 1914.

In the Oneida church entrance is a bronze tablet which states that she was the first Indian trained nurse in the United States.

THE BUISSON PAPERS

Captain Joe Buisson was a native son of the Northwest, an ardent lover of the Mississippi River, on whose upper waters he was born at Wabasha, Minnesota, in 1846. His father was a fur trader who came from Canada as an employee of Joseph Rolette of Prairie du Chien and married a daughter of Duncan Graham, the well-known Scotch trader of the upper Mississippi and the Minnesota rivers. The younger Buisson became a Mississippi pilot and steamboat master. In his later life he collected material for a sketch of rafting and steamboating on the upper river but died before he had made much progress in his project. His papers have recently come into possession of the Historical Society by purchase through the kind agency of Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul.

In point of age and of historical value the collection secured by Captain Buisson from Alexis Bailly of Wabasha is the most interesting portion of these papers. Bailly was born on the island of Mackinac, where his father was a prominent fur trader. He was well educated in eastern schools and upon his return to Mackinac was rated as a youth of great promise. He soon entered the employ of the American Fur Company and was sent to Prairie du Chien. There his first upper river voyage was made in 1821 in company with Duncan Graham, to carry supplies to the Red River settlement. Afterwards Bailly was for several years at the mouth of the Minnesota, then called St. Peters, River, where he traded with Indians for both the American and the Columbian Fur companies. While at this place he married Lucy Faribault, whose mother was, like Captain Buisson's, a daughter of Duncan Graham. Bailly in 1834 built a home at Prairie du Chien; about ten years later he removed to

Wabasha where he passed the remainder of his life, dying there June 3, 1861. His papers cover the period of his fur trading enterprises from 1821 to 1850. They consist of about one hundred and forty pieces, a typical fur trader's collection. The first paper is a bill of goods dated November 19, 1821 at Pembina, indicating about the time when Duncan Graham's caravan arrived in the Red River settlement. In 1825 Bailly's partnership with James H. Lockwood, the well-known Prairie du Chien pioneer, was dissolved, a notice of dissolution being herein contained. Letters follow from Joseph Rolette, one of especial interest on the famous Indian treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825. In 1827 letters appear from Mackenzie of the Columbian Fur Company; in 1833 Bailly was in partnership with the noted Minnesota pioneer Joseph Brown. The letters of this second period, 1833-40, are of especial value. During that time a Winnebago treaty was negotiated at Washington, and commissioners were sent to the Prairie to investigate tribal conditions. The whole affair was a notorious swindle and as such was investigated and the commissioners' findings were disallowed by the government. Some letters in the Bailly papers give additional information concerning this affair and the connection therewith of Samuel C. Stambaugh, a former agent at Green Bay. Light is also thrown on fur trade methods of the period. One letter from Hercules L. Dousman in 1835 reports that a hatter was coming to the Prairie from Kentucky to buy skins, and it is conjectured that he would pay a better price for them than could be obtained in New York.

The later Bailly papers throw side lights on the steamboat traffic of the forties; bills of goods, consignments, etc., for the different outfits show how dependent the traders were on the steamboats. In 1848 Bailly was operating on Chippewa River where George Warren was his agent.

The remaining portion of the Buisson papers consists of the material gathered between 1891 and 1914 for the history of steamboating. It is of a miscellaneous character, containing among other things Buisson's recollections of the life of his grandfather Duncan Graham, some notes on the early life of Ramsey Crooks, and Indian biographies of prominent Sioux. Indian place names on the river, the early history of the St. Croix region, lists of steamboats, and names of pilots from 1823 to 1907 are included. Captain Buisson also made a list of early sawmills on the upper river. A typical sketch is that of Joe Perro (Perreault) from Kaskaskia, who became a rafting pilot from the St. Croix region. It is asserted that he sometimes cleared $6,000 in two trips from the St. Croix to St. Louis. There are also many letters from the descendants of early steamboat captains and pilots with details of their lives, interesting stories of

steamboating days, and the diary of a river trip in 1904. Included in the collection are photographs both of the steamboats and of their pilots, the whole illustrating the transition from fur trade days to those of the heyday of the lumber and freight traffic on the upper waters of the mighty Mississippi.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. M. Quaife ("An Experiment of the Fathers in State Socialism") is superintendent of the Society and editor of its publications.

Dr. William Browning ("The Early History of Jonathan Carver") of Brooklyn, New York, is professor of neurology in the Long Island Medical College. He is one of the country's eminent specialists in his chosen field of work and has served as president of the American Association of Medical Librarians. His special interest in Carver grew out of a general study of physicians, who had distinguished themselves as explorers, published recently in the New York *Medical Record.*

John C. Reeve ("A Physician in Pioneer Wisconsin") is a physician of Dayton, Ohio, now in his ninety-fourth year. A self-made man, Dr. Reeve has risen to eminence in his profession. He has served as president of the Ohio State Medical Society and has been honored by Western Reserve University with the degree of LL.D. "for literary contributions to medicine."

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: II. The Fond du Lac Trading Post and Early Settlement") presents in this issue of the magazine the second in his series of articles under the general title noted. Mr. Titus is a resident of Fond du Lac who makes a hobby of archeology and local history.

THE WIDER FIELD

On December 10 and 11, 1919 an Indiana History Conference was held at the state capitol. Three principal programs were held, the dominant themes being: the importance of state history and how to interest people in it; the study and teaching of state history; and local history. The details of these programs evidence a most praise-

worthy method of bringing about a general coöperation both of official agencies and of individuals to the end of cultivating the history of Indiana and making it of real service to the commonwealth and its citizens. Our readers will be interested to note that Dr. John W. Oliver, formerly a member of the research staff of this Society, is director of the Indiana Historical Commission and delivered a talk at the recent conference on "Coöperation among Historical Agencies."

Frank R. Grover, an enthusiastic student of local history, died at his home in Evanston, Illinois, December 10, 1919. Mr. Grover was vice president of the Evanston Historical Society from its founding in 1898 until January, 1917; from the latter date until his death he served as president of the society. Mr. Grover found time in the midst of his law practice to write a number of historical articles. These include a history of Les Chenaux Islands, "Our Indian Predecessors, the First Evanstonians," "Father Pinet and his Mission of the Guardian Angel," "Antoine Ouilmette," and "Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore." So diligent a worker in the local historical field can ill be spared by the Evanston Historical Society.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

Illinois was admitted to the sisterhood of states in 1818 and in less than a century had become third among the commonwealths of the Union from the viewpoints of wealth and population and perhaps the equal of any from that of general culture and of development in the arts of civilization. Fitting was it, therefore, for the state legislature to authorize the preparation, under public auspices and at public cost, for the gratification of residents of the state and the enlightenment of the world in general, of a centennial history of the commonwealth. To all who are interested in the progress of historical knowledge it is cause for genuine congratulation that Illinois, among other progressive activities, maintains a state historical survey, manned by competent scholars, chosen with particular reference to their qualifications for the work in hand. To this group of trained workers, therefore, under the general direction of the Illinois Centennial Commission, the preparation of the history was entrusted. By them a six-volume work was planned, one volume to afford an introductory survey of Illinois at the time of admission to statehood, and the other five to comprise a comprehensive history of the state from the beginning of white knowledge of the region to the present time. Such a thorough-going history of a single American commonwealth, produced under such auspices and by such professionally competent direction, has never elsewhere to our knowledge been planned or carried out. To its production a large amount of money and the

labor of several years have been devoted. The significance of the enterprise, particularly from the viewpoint of its influence upon the further public support and conduct of historical work in the states of the Middle West, cannot fail to be great. This magazine has hitherto refrained from comment upon the enterprise because of a desire to have the completed work at hand before venturing upon a discussion of its several parts. But from a number of causes—the prolonged absence, through ill health, of the general editor, Professor Alvord, the removal of certain of the workers to other fields of activity, the exigencies of the Great War (one of the authors laid down his manuscript, uncompleted, to lend a helping hand in the battles of America fought on the soil of France), most of all, perhaps, to the magnitude and laboriousness of the work undertaken—the centennial year has come and gone and at the close of 1919 three of the six volumes have still to come from the printer. We have concluded, therefore, to present at this time some estimate of the three volumes which are already before the public. The reviews which follow are all by members of the research staff of the State Historical Library. They have been written, however, at different times, over a period of a year or more, and with a view to publication in different historical periodicals. This circumstance will sufficiently explain any lack of collaboration as between the several reviewers which may be in evidence. For permission to reprint the first and second reviews acknowledgments are due to the courtesy respectively of the editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and the *American Historical Review*.

Illinois in 1818. By Solon Justus Buck. [Centennial History of Illinois, introductory volume] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1917. 362 p.)

With praiseworthy foresight on the part of those concerned active preparations for the suitable celebration in 1918 of the centennial of statehood for Illinois were begun several years ago. An important and commendable part of the preparation for the projected observance of the centennial was the preparation, under the editorial supervision of Clarence W. Alvord, of a comprehensive history of Illinois from the earliest times to the present. The history thus projected is to extend to five volumes, each devoted to the exposition of a suitable section of the entire period covered. Preliminary to this enterprise, yet logically a part of it, is the issuance of the volume under review, the specific function of which is to make clear to the reader of 1918 what were the several component elements entering into the Illinois of 1818. Although the volume appears under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission the same

group of men who control the publications of the Illinois historical library are responsible for the present enterprise, and to them is due criticism of it, whether laudatory or the reverse in character.

For the conception of this thoroughgoing historical undertaking in the interests of the state of Illinois, only a commensurate degree of admiration can be entertained. Except for the preliminary volume, the manner of its execution still remains to be revealed. My present task is to evaluate, as correctly as may be, *Illinois in 1818*. That unqualified commendation cannot be accorded the work is cause for genuine regret; that a useful and dignified volume has been added to the lengthening list of mid-western local histories it is a pleasure to record.

Physically considered, the book is well bound and presents an attractive exterior appearance. Within the covers, however, the characteristic workmanship of the public printer is sufficiently evident. Thus, the pagination is carried on the title-page of the volume as well as elsewhere, a matter of trivial importance in itself but indicative of an attitude on the part of printers of public documents with which the reviewer, unfortunately, is all too familiar. The numerous illustrations in the book are for the most part clearly executed; but if any principle governed their selection and arrangement, a careful perusal of the volume has failed to disclose it. At page 138 occur views of a log tavern and of the ruins of Fort de Chartres; the chapter is entitled "The Economic Situation." Facing page 80 are pictures of Gurdon S. Hubbard and Alexander Wolcott. Wolcott was Indian agent at Chicago for a dozen years beginning in 1818, but his name nowhere occurs in the history, and there is no discoverable reason for presenting his picture. Hubbard is several times mentioned in the first chapter, but almost fifty pages intervene between its close and the presenting of his portrait. Other similar examples might be cited. Accompanying the chapter on "The Public Lands" are views of a trapper, a flatboat, a keel boat, etc., while a full page view of "a land grant" occurs in the chapter on "The Convention Campaign," separated by over half the volume from the chapter to which it seems logically to pertain. The view of Chicago in 1820 should be credited to Mrs. Kinzie's well-known volume, *Wau Bun*, from which it is in fact taken.

It is proper to add in this connection that the author is not responsible for the illustrations or for much else that pertains to the volume. Because of Mr. Buck's removal to Minnesota, nearly three years ago, the completion of this work begun by him while at the University of Illinois was subject to numerous difficulties. The effect of these was heightened, doubtless, by the long illness of Mr. Alvord, the editor-in-chief of the centennial history. These facts taken to-

gether fairly account, perhaps, for the one general criticism which the reviewer has to submit; while a thoroughly creditable volume, it does not realize the advance expectations which the work alike of the editor of the series and of the author of the volume fairly justify the historically-minded public in entertaining. That this judgment will be acquiesced in by the author may be inferred from his statements in the preface; it is stated here merely for the benefit of those who have not seen or examined the volume.

The three hundred sixty-two pages of the book comprise eleven chapters, besides an appendix, index, and bibliography. The first six chapters are primarily descriptive; the remaining ones are narrative in character. Chapter I, "The Indians and the Fur Trade," contains a useful account of these subjects which played so important a rôle in the Illinois of 1818. Here, as usually throughout the volume, the dominant note is economic, in marked contrast to the line of interest displayed by such writers as the late Dr. Thwaites. As compared with the latter's characteristic work the present narrative may be equally useful but it is certainly far less inspiring to the reader.

Chapter II deals with "The Public Lands"; chapter III with "Extent of Settlement" in 1818. Useful maps compiled by the author occur in connection with each. Chapters on the pioneers and on economic, social, and political conditions follow in due order. The latter chapter furnishes the transition from the descriptive to the narrative portion of the book. The latter chiefly recounts the political conditions and developments centering around the transformation of the territory of Illinois into a sovereign state of the Union.

No effort has been made to check or correct the author in matters of opinion; a few errors of precise detail have been noted, but since a second edition of the book is improbable, no attempt has been made to list them. The bibliography presented is uncritical and it does not assume to be exhaustive. The style of footnote reference accords well with the general conception of the volume as intended to be scholarly in character yet designed primarily for popular reading. The index seems to be well constructed and reasonably exhaustive.

M. M. Quaife

The Frontier State, 1818-1848. By Theodore Calvin Pease. [Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. II.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918. 457 p.)

The second volume of the Centennial History of Illinois series is in more than one respect a notable book. Appearing out of order before the first volume has been published, it reveals the scope and

plan of a coöperative enterprise so well conceived and thus far so well executed as to indicate that the study of western history has passed well beyond the backwoodsman stage. Following the pioneer who first blazed a trail through the trackless maze of unassorted source-material for the history of the West, there are now groups of trained historians sharing a common viewpoint, conforming to the same high standards of scholarly technique, working together in close personal touch with each other in a spirit of cordial and sympathetic coöperation. Such is the group of historians who have undertaken the task of relating the events of a century in the state of Illinois.

The plan of the series is distinctly coöperative, an individual author being in the main responsible for each of the five volumes. The preface to the second volume, written "somewhere in France," reveals the extent of the author's indebtedness to the general editor, to members of the Centennial Commission, and to an assistant competent to supply two entire chapters without marring the unity of the whole. The result is a book which might very properly be entitled *A Full-Length Portrait of a Frontier State.*

In the drawing of the outlines the perspective remains admirable throughout. Although some tediousness of detail in recounting factional controversies of local politics or the bizarre experiments of frontier finance could not always be avoided, the author nowhere loses his perception of the vital relation between state politics and the larger aspects of national affairs. Not only for an appreciation of frontier problems and conditions but for a sympathetic understanding of the Jacksonian period as well, it may be doubted whether the history of any state, unless perhaps that of its western neighbor, Missouri, would prove so instructive as the history of Illinois. Situated at the crossroads between the East and the West, between the North and the South, and having within its own boundaries both a north and a south, the state was of necessity deeply affected by national policies of finance and tariff, the counter-currents of the slavery issue, and of those social, racial, and religious forces that have at times exerted so decisive an influence upon local and national development. Each of these topics is discussed in order, the arrangement of the chapters being logical and consistent without arbitrarily separating movements which could only be adequately presented in relation to each other. Thus portrayed, the history of an individual state, while still retaining its distinctive local character, sheds new light upon many phases of national progress which have not as yet been fully apprehended.

Throughout the book and especially in the admirable first chapter the author manifests that true appreciation of frontier complexi-

ties which can be attained only through the laborious process of absorbing and digesting enormous masses of intricate and minute detail. The one serious defect in the make-up of the book is the lack of a satisfactory map showing roads, trails, rivers, and towns upon which the reader might trace schemes of internal improvements in which the state was interested. An unfortunate misprint on the population map of 1840 reverses the legend, making the map read as if the most densely settled area were that having the lowest percentage of population. A welcome addition in forthcoming volumes would be an appendix showing the representation of the state in Congress and the term of office of its governors.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS

The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By Arthur Charles Cole. [Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. III.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919. 499 p.)

Although the author announces in the preface to this volume that his theme is the transition of Illinois from a frontier community to a modern commonwealth, none the less his method of treatment throws into high relief the four years of the Civil War and makes that event the pivot of his period. Both politically and industrially he discusses Illinois before and after the war, in separate chapters placed at some distance apart. For example, the agricultural conditions before the war are considered in chapter three, "Prairie Farming and Banking"; while chapter seventeen discusses "Agriculture and the War." The railroad problems of the fifties are divorced from those of the sixties. "Church and School 1850-1860" occupies chapter ten; "Religion, Morality, and Education, 1860-1870," chapter twenty, near the end of the volume. By this method of treatment continuity is lost and the process of the transition from a frontier to a modern state somewhat obscured. This choice of method is in some measure justified by the immense importance of the Civil War in the history of the Prairie State. The war did actually bisect the epoch Mr. Cole describes; it did condition not only political but economic progress to such a degree as to merit the "before" and "after" method of treatment. More, perhaps, than that of the neighboring states was the history of Illinois involved in the course of the Civil War. It was the election of "the man from Illinois" that precipitated the war; it was the generalship of the military leader from Illinois that ended its fighting. The fortunes of the state were irretrievably bound up in its prosecution.

Illinois was also during the period treated in this volume in its divided opinions and sectional antagonisms an epitome of the nation. Southern Illinois was practically a border state, and the "democracy

of Egypt" so abhorred the "black republicanism" of the northern counties that secession of the lower section was everywhere discussed. Some of the most brilliant pages of this book describe how the southern counties swung into line for the Union when the acid test of recruiting for the Northern army occurred. They even exceeded in their chivalric zeal the quota assigned to them and furnished more than their share of fighting men. In that prewar sectional strife the central counties of Illinois held the balance; from their midst came Lincoln, the man of the hour. Neither in the extreme north nor in the extreme south of his state was he thoroughly understood or unwaveringly supported. Indeed, in the darkest hours before his second nominaion it was military victory rather than political enthusiasm that even in his home state turned the tide in the President's favor. It is significant also that the convention which nominated McClellan for the presidency in 1864 was held at Chicago, the scene of Lincoln's triumph four years before. All the political activity that led up to the declaration of the war, that carried it to a victory for the North, and that followed as an aftermath of war conditions Mr. Cole has portrayed with no unskillful hand. He has moreover produced not merely a history of a single state or that of a divided community in a death grapple with tremendous forces within itself; he has given us a portion of the nation's history so intertwined with that of the state that the telling of one involves that of the other. The appearance of this volume, with that of the others in the Centennial series, marks a new departure in state histories. We have in them not only the history of a state apart from other states, but of a state within the nation, working out its own peculiar destiny, while contributing at the same time to the progress of the federal republic.

In accordance with modern canons Mr. Cole relies very largely upon contemporary newspaper sources. These he supplements by letters from private collections, some of them now first brought to light to aid in the writing of this book. His pages are a mosaic of citations from the local press, skillfully matched, although at times it is difficult to know where the author begins or the editors stop. The author's own style is clear and simple; frequently the impetus of the narrative carries him along with it; his wealth of material compels him. Statistics are so woven into the body of the narrative that they illuminate the subject rather than appall the reader. Upon the whole the narrative is readable and brings back the flavor of public opinion of sixty and seventy years ago.

In his handling of political forces and cross currents the author's touch is more sure than in his treatment of economic and cultural movements. The studies of these latter subjects do not compare for thoroughness with those in the kindred work of Frederick Merk in his

Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade. We are inclined to think that Mr. Cole has not grasped the full importance of Illinois' railway history. There is no more significant feature of his volume than the map opposite page 34 showing the increase of railroads in the decade between 1850 and 1860. Had the war begun in 1850, as the contest over the compromise of that year threatened, the commercial allegiance of the Northwestern states would have been with the Southwest. The Illinois cross-line railroads changed all this and made possible in 1861 the solidarity of the North. These facts Mr. Cole nowhere connects with the political situation. His discussion of the movements of population is excellent and gives some especially pertinent material, such for example as the westward emigration from Illinois during the fifties and the filling in of the farms in the central and southern parts of the state by the New England element. Another interesting phase of this subject is the movement during the war years into Illinois from the South. "Cairo," our author says, "was the Ellis Island for this immigration," made up of Unionists and refugee whites from the secession portions of the border states, also of free blacks and later of freedmen which helped to give Illinois her large colored population. Meanwhile the earlier Illinoisians had generously welcomed the refugee whites, who quickly assimilated to the mass of the population and in a measure replaced the Southern element drained away in the decade of the fifties.

The most severe test which Mr. Cole had to meet was his presentation of the well-worn problems of the political power of Douglas, the rise and election of Lincoln, and the origins of the Republican party. With regard to the first of these we get some new light upon Douglas' responsibility for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise from the attitude of the senator's newspaper organ at Springfield. Mr. Cole believes that the Illinois senator was actuated by "a spirit of opportunism" and brands him as deliberately conscious of the effect of his action on the Missouri Compromise, which he had described in 1849 "as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb."

In describing the rise of the Republican party Mr. Cole gives credit to the early movements in Wisconsin and Michigan that influenced the first "republican" mass meetings in Illinois. He shows that Lincoln was at first lukewarm toward the new party, fearing it was too strongly abolitionist; that he clung to "obsolete Whig traditions"; and that it was not until 1855 that he formally allied himself with the Republicans.

Concerning the Lincoln-Douglas debates Mr. Cole has little new to offer. Perhaps he stresses a point when he says that Douglas

"reluctantly" accepted the challenge of his competitor. Nor was it quite true that Lincoln had "no opportunity" to reply to the Freeport doctrine at the time of its promulgation, since he closed the debate with a thirty-minute talk. It is probably a printer's error on page 180 that makes the vote for Lincoln in the Illinois senate forty-one in place of the actual forty-six.

On the nomination and election of Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 Mr. Cole's careful study of newspaper sources sheds some interesting light. After detailing the well-known events of the Chicago convention, Mr. Cole declares that "the gay holiday atmosphere of the canvass makes it stand out as one of the most picturesque of presidential elections"—a startling statement to those who consider it in the light of its tragic dénouement.

Over the actual military operations of Illinois troops during the war Mr. Cole passes briefly; he expresses state pride in the size of the quotas and in the fact that they were large enough to avoid, in great measure, the draft in the President's home state. The extent of the disaffection and of copperheadism in Illinois is fearlessly revealed. The plot of election day, 1864, to free the Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas and to begin an uprising is described, but not that planned and thwarted the preceding August during the Democratic convention at Chicago. Wisconsin may have a just pride in the action of one of her sons, Colonel Benjamin J. Sweet, who as federal officer in charge of Camp Douglas thwarted both plots by prompt vigilance.

In portraying personalities Mr. Cole is less able than in estimating forces and tendencies. The great figures on his canvas—those of Lincoln and Douglas—he wisely leaves to the reader's previous knowledge. The men of lesser import, however, who throng the picture, he might well have made more real by brief sketches of their careers. As it is their outlines are vague and shadowy; even United States senators and governors seem incidental and transitory.

The book includes a comprehensive bibliography, an adequate index, and good maps illustrating the several political campaigns, the foreign-born population, and the density of the population on the eve of the war. It seems to the reviewer that the volume fulfills the promise made to the people of Illinois by the Centennial Commission and justifies the production of state histories by trained historical scholars, fostered by state action.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

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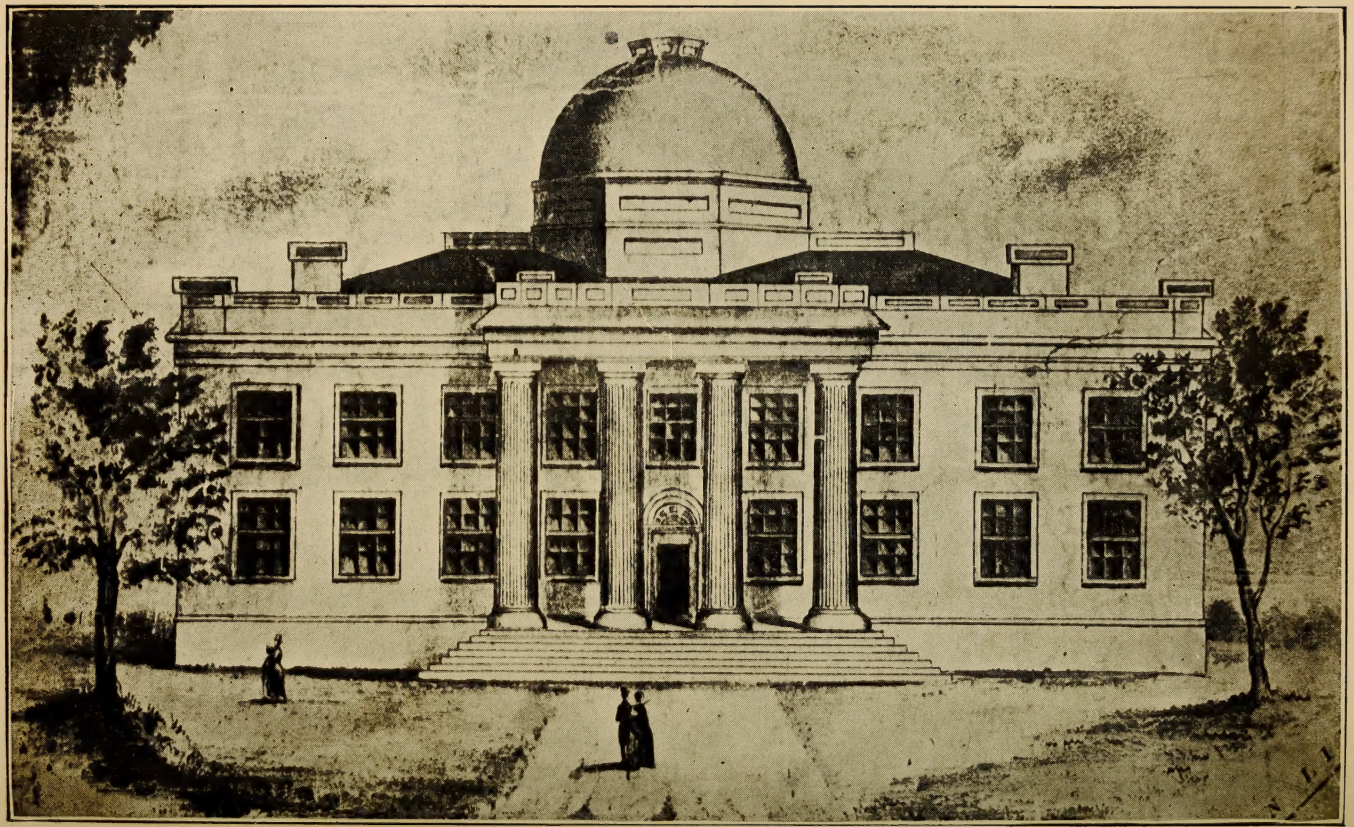


THE FIRST CAPITOL AT MADISON, 1838

THE STORY OF WISCONSIN, 1634-1848

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

CHAPTER VI—POLITICS AND STATEHOOD

TERRITORIAL POLITICS

Political action in early Wisconsin centered around the choice of the Congressional delegate, the one office connecting the territory with the federal government. George Wallace Jones, the first delegate, was elected from that portion of the territory of Michigan west of Lake Michigan when it was apparent that its admission as a state was near at hand. He took his seat as Michigan's delegate; upon its admission as a state, Jones continued to represent Wisconsin until the expiration of his term in 1838. His stand for reëlection precipitated the first canvass in the new territory. Jones's record was good and he was immensely popular in the mining district of the southwest. He had, however, been a second in the famous Graves-Cilley duel, an action which awoke conscientious scruples in the minds of the New England element of the territory's population. Taking advantage of this sentiment, the friends of James D. Doty in August, 1838 called a convention at Madison and put him in nomination for the office, to which after an exciting canvass he was elected. Doty had to stand again for election in 1839; this time two conventions, both calling themselves Democratic, met at Madison in June. At one of these Byron Kilbourn was nominated; at the other, Doty, who was in September following reëlected for the term of two years.

Thus far all parties had called themselves Democratic, and the national alignment had not affected the territory. Such divisions as existed were sectional and personal rather than political. In 1840, however, Wisconsin, although with-

out the presidential vote, was much influenced by the national campaign. As a result of Harrison's triumph the first Whig convention was held in January, 1841 at Milwaukee. It was expected that all the appointive offices in the territory would become the spoils of the victorious party; the Whigs, who were in a minority in the territory, now became an organized party; Doty, who had previously called himself a Democrat, allied himself actively with the Harrison machine. During the campaign he published at New York the *Voice of an Injured Territory,* in which, imitating the phraseology of the Declaration of Independence, Van Buren's policy and appointees in "Wiskonsan" (as Doty always termed the territory) were vigorously arraigned. This pamphlet was received with jeers of amusement among the people who were supposed to be "injured"; Doty's claim upon the administration, however, was acknowledged by his appointment as governor to succeed Henry Dodge, the Black Hawk War veteran. The ntire official personnel, except the life-term judges, was changed. This overturn alienated the major portion of the territorial voters. A close Democratic organization was effected, which in convention at Madison, July 19, 1841, nominated the deposed Dodge for territorial delegate. The Whigs put up Jonathan Arnold, an able Milwaukee lawyer, but Dodge's popularity stood the test and he was triumphantly elected to Congress.

Meanwhile Governor Doty was coldly received by the majority of Wisconsin people. His administration was marked by constant dissensions with the legislature, which in the second year of his administration nearly unanimously demanded his removal. His quarrel with the legislature was, in great part, due to attempts to avoid investigation into his connection with the building of the first capitol. By this effort and by arbitrary appointments and acts of nepotism and favoritism he exasperated and embittered the entire three years of his administration.

Notwithstanding his great unpopularity and the serious charges of corruption urged against him, Doty was not removed from his office by the federal government. In 1843, while the feeling against Doty was at its height, Dodge was a candidate for reëlection to the delegacy; he swept the whole territory, defeating the Whig nominee, George H. Hickcox, by a great majority. Although the popular will was clearly expressed in this election, President Tyler, upon the expiration of Doty's term in September, 1844, appointed in his stead Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, United States senator from New York. Tallmadge was one of the best known political characters of the United States and had narrowly escaped becoming president. Having broken with Van Buren on the subtreasury measure, Tallmadge was offered the nomination for vice president on the ticket with Harrison but preferred to remain in the Senate as chairman of the committee on foreign relations. It was rumored that he had also been offered a cabinet position and a foreign mission and had declined both. Tallmadge made the acquaintance of Doty while the latter was Wisconsin's delegate and lured by his perfervid description of Wisconsin Territory came West and bought a large estate at Taycheedah, whither he proposed to remove his residence. Since his senatorial term expired with the Twenty-eighth Congress, he accepted the president's nomination as governor for the territory and arrived at Milwaukee the last of August, 1844. As the friend and nominee of the Doty party and as a stranger in the West Tallmadge was not received with great cordiality; his first message to the legislature as well as his past political record was the subject of much acrimonious comment. The message, however, in its recommendations for internal improvements and transportation facilities was a statesmanlike document, and the new governor's determination to take no partisan position on past conflicts soon cooled the heat of the opposition to his measures.

Tallmadge's administration was very brief because of the change in 1845 in the administration of the national government; but it was more than a mere episode in territorial politics. His skill, experience, address, and wide outlook were valuable to the progress of the new territory.

His successor, appointed by President Polk at the urgent request of the people of the territory, was their favorite, Henry Dodge, who thus became the last, as he had been the first, territorial governor. Dodge's successor as delegate was Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay, one of the earliest and ablest American pioneers of Wisconsin. Martin used his influence to secure a federal appropriation for the Fox-Wisconsin Improvement work. He also urged upon the Twenty-ninth Congress the claims of Wisconsin to statehood. Because of these and other services Martin and his friends considered that he was entitled to a second term as Congressional delegate. But the clamor for office on the part of ambitious politicians led to his defeat in the Democratic convention held at Madison July 21, 1847. The coveted nomination was secured by Moses M. Strong of Mineral Point. The Whigs put up John H. Tweedy of Milwaukee as their candidate, while the growing Liberty party nominated Charles Durkee of Kenosha. The campaign was the most vigorous and the most extensive made during the territorial period. The issues were complicated: personal, since Tweedy was the more correct in private character, and Strong had many enemies within his own party; sectional, since Tweedy represented the eastern and Strong the western portion of the state; territorial, since after the defeat of the first state constitution Strong represented its partisans and Tweedy its opponents; and national, since the complicated interaction of Whig, Democratic, and Liberty parties, increased by the tension over the Wilmot Proviso, was reflected in local affairs. Strong took the stump and made speeches throughout the territory; the Liberty candidate was also aggressive and convincing. Tweedy, although he did not speak and expected

to be defeated, was elected by a considerable plurality; he took his seat in the Thirtieth Congress as the last territorial delegate from Wisconsin.

During the territorial period the community was organized politically; parties were formed, newspapers were established, and machinery was set in motion. The tone of territorial politics was acrimonious and personal. Charges of the most disgraceful conduct were freely bandied about; personalities were the current topics of the territorial press, and bitter reprisals the usual political methods. None the less, as within a large family, while there was much wrangling, there was also much good-fellowship. Considering the low political morals engendered by the spoils system, and the depressed condition of national politics, the Wisconsin candidates for and holders of office were above the average in ability and character. Most of them were men still young and vigorous, many of whom had had political experience in older communities. A very large proportion were lawyers possessed of considerable education and statesmanlike acumen. One and all were imbued with a deep enthusiasm for Wisconsin, a belief in its future greatness, and a desire to serve in the progress and upbuilding of the new commonwealth.

ATTAINMENT OF STATE GOVERNMENT

Like all territories Wisconsin had aspirations toward statehood, complicated, however, in this instance by the question of boundaries. The last of the states to be formed from the Northwest Territory, both Michigan and Illinois had encroached upon the territory originally allotted to the fifth state by the Ordinance of 1787. It was the southern boundary question, however, that was chiefly involved in the process of attaining statehood. Notwithstanding the fact that for more than twenty years Illinois had exercised jurisdiction over the disputed tract, Wisconsin's claims received much considera-

tion among its inhabitants and influenced the progress of the territory towards the goal of admission.

In his annual message for 1839 Governor Dodge recommended the legislature to consider the submission of the question of statehood to the people at the next election. On January 13, 1840 an act was passed in accordance with this recommendation containing the proviso that a convention should be held with delegates from northern Illinois to discuss the inclusion of their territory in the proposed new state. Only by such a proceeding would there be a sufficient population to justify application to Congress for admission. Agitation quickly sprang up in the Illinois counties, and the majority of their people were eager to cast in their lot with that of the northern territory. Public meetings held at Galena and Rockford passed strong resolutions favoring the measure. Wisconsin people, on the contrary, took alarm at the proposal. Illinois was burdened with a heavy debt, and the portion that must be assumed by the region desiring inclusion in Wisconsin staggered the financiers of the territory. Politicians were also fearful that their share of the offices would be diminished by the inclusion in the new state of a developed and thickly-populated region like northern Illinois. A meeting for Brown County held at Green Bay passed forcible resolutions against both statehood and the inclusion of any portion of Illinois. Wisconsin's meager population was unprepared on its own part to assume the liabilities of a state government. Therefore at a special session of the legislature held in August, 1840 the act of the preceding January was amended by a resolution that the convention therein authorized should not have the power to adopt a state constitution nor to declare the territory an independent state. The territorial press opposed the calling of the convention, urging the people to be contented with their fortunate situation wherein all expenses of territorial government were met, not by taxes, but by the federal authorities. The September vote was, as may be supposed, very small and almost wholly against

the proposition for a convention or for statehood. In Dane County, for instance, but one vote was cast in favor of the proposal.

This decisive defeat put a quietus upon the statehood movement for the next two years. Meanwhile the Whig party succeeded in 1841 to the control of the federal government, and one of its first measures was a law for the distribution to the states of the proceeds of the public lands. The territorial Whig press thereupon began an agitation for statehood in order to participate in the benefits of the distribution. Governor Doty, the Whig appointee, had been for many years an enthusiastic advocate of Wisconsin's "original boundaries." In his first annual message in December, 1841 he advised the consideration of statehood in order to secure the advantage of the distribution law. At the same time he called upon the legislature to assert the territory's right to the region of northern Illinois. The legislature, under control of the Democratic party, was bitterly hostile to the governor. The leader of the Council attacked the entire proposition in a partisan speech and a resolution was passed that "the time has not yet arrived when it [the consideration of statehood] is expedient." The Whigs thereupon called a meeting at the capitol that discussed the matter favorably and passed resolutions for a state government with the boundaries of the Ordinance of 1787. The legislature, none the less, refused to consider the subject, and the discussion went to the people. Most of the newspapers of the territory, then numbering nine, came out in opposition to statehood; about this time, however, the Doty party secured possession of the Wisconsin *Enquirer* at Madison, which began a series of editorials favoring the state project. Doty even went so far as to send an official message to Governor Carlin of Illinois requiring him to desist from selecting state lands in the disputed Illinois tract. Doty's opponents claimed that he feared removal by the federal government and was providing a berth for himself in the new state government he planned to establish. Be that

as it may, on August 18, 1842 he issued a proclamation wherein without legislative sanction he summoned the people to vote at the September election "yea" or "nay" on the question of state government and the original southern boundary. The Democratic convention of the territory condemned this measure as executive usurpation. The vote at the September election was negligible, the 619 votes for and the 1,821 against proving indifference rather than active hostility to the attainment of statehood.

The next year Doty was still more deeply embroiled with the Democratic majority of the territorial legislature. Nevertheless in his message, delivered in March 1843, he reverted to the proposition for a referendum on statehood. The legislature refused to consider the question, but some of the members suggested the advisability of such a movement in order "to shake off Doty's tyranny."

A new cleavage of opinion appeared about this time. The southern counties bordering on Illinois began to favor immediate statehood. Racine, for example, fast filling up and establishing commercial connections with the northern Illinois villages, adopted a memorial favoring a movement toward statehood and the inclusion of northern Illinois. The northern Wisconsin counties, however, were still oppressed by the dread of being overpowered by the south in the event of annexation. The Green Bay *Republican,* although a Whig organ, declared that "Few, very few, can be found in favor of our admission to the Union at this time." Meanwhile the Whig convention, which met in July, discussed the advantages of a state government and recommended the measure to its constituents. Doty, following his precedent of the preceding year, issued August 23, 1843 a second proclamation charging the legislature with negligence in not providing for a referendum on statehood and claiming a territorial population of over sixty thousand inhabitants. These he once more summoned to vote on the question of a state government, but

omitted all reference to the inclusion of Illinois. The vote was again very small and except in Racine County was adverse to the measure. That county gave a majority of 251 in favor; the entire vote was 541 for, and 1,276 against; less in actual numbers than that of the preceding year. Ten counties, however, made no returns at all.

Nothing daunted by this serious setback Doty returned to the proposal at the December session of the legislature of 1843. Almost his entire message was devoted to a discussion of the importance of statehood, and the righteousness of Wisconsin's claim to "the integrity of her territorial boundaries" and her ancient "birthright." The Milwaukee *Courier* referred to the message as "the same old tune on the same old string," but none the less new forces were at work which compelled the consideration of the question and removed it from the domain of party prejudice. The growing size of the population could no longer be ignored. All parties agreed that the requisite 60,000 inhabitants would be available before the territory could become a sovereign state. The approach of a presidential campaign made the politicians restive in a state of "babyhood and political vassalage." The large foreign population desired to secure the political privileges they had come so far to seek, all the more that the Native American or Know Nothing party was advocating their exclusion from the polls. The advantages of statehood in stimulating immigration and the influx of capital were held by many to outweigh the advantages of federal care for the territory.

A remarkable change in sentiment animated the legislature of 1843-44: the Democratic leaders who had stoutly opposed the measure in 1842 and 1843 now spoke enthusiastically not only for state government, but for the maintenance of the ancient limits. In the Council Moses M. Strong, chairman of the committee on the "infringement of boundaries," presented a long report covering the history of Wisconsin's grievances. He declared that if these were not compensated

Wisconsin "would remain *a state out of the Union and possess,* exercise, and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and powers of the *sovereign, independent state of Wisconsin,* and if difficulties must ensue, we could appeal with confidence to the Great Umpire of nations to adjust them." The Democratic volte-face was due to a desire to conciliate the foreign vote, which the Whigs were alienating by a leaning towards Native Americanism. About the time the Council report was delivered a large German mass meeting was held in Milwaukee, which passed resolutions in favor of state government and prepared a petition which secured 1,200 signatures for the right to vote for delegates to a constitutional convention. In January, 1844 two bills passed the legislature: one provided for a referendum on the subject of state government and, if it carried, for the immediate calling of a constitutional convention; the other provided that "all the free white male inhabitants * * * who shall have resided in the said territory three months" should be entitled to vote on the question of statehood and for delegates to a constitutional convention. The legislature also prepared a memorial to Congress reciting the wrongs the territory had endured by the infringement of its boundaries at the admission of Illinois and Michigan, and under the Webster-Ashburton Treaty wherein (it was claimed) 10,000 square miles of territory belonging to the fifth state of the Old Northwest had been surrendered to the British government. So belligerent was the tone of this document that one representative remarked it ought to be entitled "A declaration of war against Great Britain, Illinois, Michigan and the United States." The memorial concluded by agreeing to accept compensation from Congress in the form of desirable internal improvements such as harbors, canals, and a railway. It seems at the present time impossible that a document, which one of its advocates admitted would arouse in Congress nothing but a smile, could have seriously occupied the attention of the territorial legislature. Nevertheless the

memorial was passed by both houses and presented by the territorial delegate to the House of Representatives, where it was speedily suppressed in the Committee on Territories.

Had the vote on the subject of immediate preparation for statehood occurred in April, 1844 it probably would have carried, and Wisconsin might have entered the Union before her western neighbor, Iowa. Both the Democratic and Whig press favored the measure; the foreign population was eager to exercise its rights; and the Liberty party element desired additional northern members in both houses of Congress. In the territorial press much attention was devoted to the subject. The chief objections offered were constitutional and economic. Some of the legal minds of the community contended that a state could not be formed without the concurrent action of Congress and that it was wiser to wait until an enabling act could be secured to place Wisconsin on a proper footing. The financial obligations of a state were much discussed, and the belief was freely expressed that the necessary taxation would prove a heavy burden to the young community, all the more that the distribution act had been suspended. Local considerations influenced other voters. The southwest was hostile to political privileges for foreigners, since these would give preponderance to the lakeboard counties. The new settlements on the upper Mississippi and the St. Croix desired delay until a new territory could be formed for their region. By midsummer of 1844 interest in statehood had so waned that the matter was seldom mentioned in the press, whose columns were filled with the excitement of the presidential campaign. The retirement of Governor Doty removed the executive support of the measure. The Democratic press repudiated the agency of their party in its favor and declared that the executive junto had forced them to submit the measure to the people. Rejection was anticipated, and at the September election only 1,503 votes were recorded in favor to 5,343 against adopting a state government. Thus the

fourth attempt to secure a referendum vote in favor of statehood for Wisconsin failed. Governor Tallmadge in his message to the legislature of 1845 accepted the decision of the people as putting the matter at rest for the time being, and the project was not revived until 1846.

In the meantime political conditions had been reversed. The Democratic party had secured possession of the entire territorial government. During the summer and autumn of 1845 the press continually agitated for a new referendum. Two causes operated to change public opinion: one was the growing population, which was believed to be twice the prescribed 60,000; the other was the penurious policy of Congress concerning territorial appropriations. In May, 1845 the Madison *Argus* declared that Congress was trying to drive the territory into a state government. A lesser influence was dissatisfaction with the territorial judiciary and a desire to control the choice of judges. By 1845 the question transcended party differences. The Wisconsin *Republican* stated that, whichever party succeeded at the fall election, statehood would become an immediate issue. Scores and hundreds of the inhabitants were ready to change their vote from the negative to the affirmative.

Such differences of opinion as existed were concerned with the method of attaining the desired goal. Some of the more aggressive papers suggested that the time had come to form a state government and present its claims to Congress. "We need not," said the Madison *Express,* "stand like Iowa hat in hand, we may go and demand admission not as a favor but as a right." More moderate counsels opposed action without Congressional consent. The northern part of the territory preferred the slower or Congressional method; the southern part desired immediate action by territorial authority.

As the event proved, both methods were simultaneously employed. On January 9, 1846 Morgan L. Martin, terri-

torial delegate, obtained leave to introduce into the House of Representatives an enabling act for Wisconsin. This was referred to the Committee on Territories, and in June reported by Stephen A. Douglas and passed. The Senate concurred, and on August 6 the bill was signed by the president. In the meantime Governor Dodge in his January message of 1846 recommended to the legislature a statehood referendum. That body favored the measure and advised taking advantage of the federal situation. Florida and Texas had both been admitted since any northern territory had entered the Union. Iowa and Wisconsin were expected to restore the sectional balance in the Senate. The chief question was still one of boundaries. The idea of laying claim to northern Illinois had been dropped, but as Texas was intended to be divided into several slave states, the problem was to secure as many northern states as possible. It was contended that three states should be formed of the territory north and west of Wisconsin and Iowa, east of Red River of the North. This would denude Wisconsin of a large part of her northwestern region. The legislature in April passed an act for the referendum without adverting to the subject of boundaries. The benefit of a state government was the theme of the legislative speeches; control over finances, over school and university lands, over the judiciary, and the advantages of independency were the considerations urged. The chief party difference was with regard to the foreign vote, the qualifications for which had been amended in the preceding legislature by the requirement of a six months' residence and a declaration of intended citizenship. The Whigs wished to repeal these liberal provisions and reduce the foreign vote to a minimum, but the Democrats stood firm for the six months' clause, and the referendum bill contained the provision as it already existed.

After the adjournment of the legislature it was evident that the statehood proposition would be accepted. All par-

ties agreed that the territory would be the gainer by this measure. The vote was 12,334 in favor; 2,487 in opposition. On August 1 Governor Dodge apportioned the territory for delegates to a convention to prepare a constitution. All political parties nominated candidates and much interest was taken in their election, which took place on September 7. One hundred twenty-five delegates were chosen, most of them of the Democratic faith. The Whig members were few, but their influence was important because of their talents and ability. The entire convention was composed of the ablest leaders of opinion in the territory. Organization was effected October 5, by the choice of D. A. J. Upham of Milwaukee for chairman, and Lafayette Kellogg of Madison as secretary.

The convention was in session ten weeks and two days, adjourning on December 16. The constitution it prepared for the consideration of the people was radical and democratic. Its chief model was the constitution and political practice of New York; but independence of thought and readiness to experiment were marked characteristics of the convention. The principal innovations were the banking provisions forbidding all banks of issue; the judiciary arrangements for an elective system and the *nisi prius* method of state courts; the property rights of married women and the exemption of the homestead from the creditor's claim upon the debtor. The question of negro suffrage was left for a special referendum, when the constitution's acceptance should be determined.

During the convention personal and party differences caused much friction. One of the leading members resigned in dissatisfaction before the close of the session. The president in his closing speech apologized for the lack of harmony and hoped the constituents would consider the difficulties under which the convention had labored. Several of its members went away with the avowed purpose of defeating the

constitution at the polls. Petitions were presented to the January legislature of 1847, urging the calling of another convention in case the constitution should be rejected. During the discussion of this measure strong speeches were made in opposition to adopting the constitution.

The opponents of the instrument were of no one party, but the Whigs as representatives of the moneyed and business class disapproved of the banking and exemption clauses. Ex-Governor Tallmadge was considered the commander-in-chief of the anticonstitutional forces. The Liberty men opposed ratification because negro suffrage was not embodied in the instrument. One faction of the Democrats opposed, apparently because the other faction approved. The entire territory was divided into pro- and anticonstitution groups. The banking clause and the married women's property and exemption clauses raised a storm of opposition. The people were influenced by the impassioned oratory of the leaders. Mass meetings were held by both the "Friends of the Constitution" and the "Anti-Constitution" groups. Songs were written, liberty poles erected, and the populace was stirred to the pitch where blows succeeded words as arguments. Most of the voters had slight understanding of the radical propositions embodied in the constitution, but influenced by party leaders the majority went to the polls April 6, 1847 prejudiced against the instrument and defeated its adoption by a vote of 14,119 for, and 20,233 against.

Before the constitution had been defeated strong influences had been at work to prepare the way for a second convention should the result of the first be rejected. The territorial press agitated for a special legislative session; petitions bearing many signatures requested immediate action. It was much desired that a constitution should be drawn in time to permit Wisconsin to take part in the presidential campaign of 1848. Accordingly on September 27, 1847 Governor Dodge issued a call for an extra session of the

legislature which took place October 18-27. Its sole business was to arrange for a new constitutional convention, and the only difficulty was the apportionment of members. A strong desire was evinced for a smaller convention, so that the number of delegates was finally fixed at sixty-nine, and the date for assembling December 15. These measures met with general approval; nominations were quickly made, and the election of delegates occurred on November 29. A few of the local nominating conventions instructed their delegates; in others candidates were closely questioned on the subjects of banking, married women's rights, and exemptions. Few of the first convention members were nominated a second time. The choice resulted in a larger proportion of Whigs, twenty-three of that party being chosen to forty-six Democrats. The convention organized with the election of Morgan L. Martin chairman and Thomas M. McHugh secretary. A new constitution was prepared with some measure of unanimity. The fundamental law was made to rest on general principles, while most of the disputed features of the earlier constitution were omitted. The elective judiciary was retained, exemptions and married women's property rights were left to later legislation, a harmless banking privilege was incorporated.

The convention finished its labors on February 1, and the popular election was set for March 13. The Liberty party was the only opposition element in the territory. All the press advocated the adoption of the new constitution. One of the members of the first convention attempted to secure from the legislature the right for the people to vote for the first constitution as well as for the second, but he was unsuccessful. The election on March 13 gave 16,417 votes in favor of the constitution and 6,174 against it. On April 10 the Governor issued a proclamation declaring the result, and on May 29, 1848 Congress formally admitted Wisconsin to the Union. The constitution adopted in 1848 has stood the test of time and still serves as the fundamental law of the state of Wisconsin.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

RASMUS B. ANDERSON

When the so-called Kensington Rune Stone in 1898 was brought forth from its sleep beneath the roots of a tree on a farm near Kensington, Minnesota, it produced but a slight ripple of sensation. A photographic copy of the inscription on this stone was sent to me and to others supposed to be somewhat familiar with the runic alphabet and with Old Norse history, for our opinion, and I think I may safely say that we all agreed in declaring it to be a rather clumsy fraud. As a result the matter received but little further attention, and Mr. Olaf Ohman, on whose farm the stone was found, converted it into a stepping-stone to his granary. In course of time Mr. H. R. Holand, now of Ephraim, Wisconsin, happened to visit Mr. Ohman and got possession of the discarded rune stone, and how he ever since has been exploiting it is presumably well known to my readers. The inscription is a fraud on the very face of it, and the proofs of this fact are most abundant.

I do not at present care to enter into a detailed discussion of all the evidence against the genuineness of this runic inscription. I will, however, mention three facts that seem to me quite conclusive.

(1) The date at the end of the inscription is 1362. Now it is a well-known fact that the runes were extensively used in the north of Europe before the eleventh century, but with the introduction of Christianity the people got ink, parchment, and the Roman alphabet; the runes very rapidly passed into desuetude, and long before 1362 their use had been wholly abandoned.

(2) In the very beginning of the inscription occurs the word "opdhagelsefærdh," and the word "opdagelse," which means discovery, had not yet been incorporated into any Scandinavian tongue.

(3) In the inscription we also find the word "rise," meaning journey. The word "reisa" is found in the old Scandinavian languages, but there it invariably means to raise, to erect: thus, in phrases stating that a son erects a memorial stone on his father's grave. But "reisa," meaning a journey, is a word of recent importation in Scandinavia.

If an inscription should be brought to the notice of the public with a claim that it was say 200 years old and was found to contain such words as automobile, telephone, bicycle, wireless, aeroplane, and so on ad libitum, the opinion of a learned university professor would not be required to establish its fraudulent origin.

Perhaps I ought to add that the fact that in the very first line of the inscription eight of the supposed explorers are described as Goths, that is, men from Sweden, is sufficient to throw suspicion on its genuineness, for it is well known that those who made voyages to Iceland, Greenland, Vinland, and to the western islands, generally, came not from Sweden or Denmark, but from Norway.

As is well known, Mr. Holand several years ago took this rune stone to Europe and had it examined by experts in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, but these all declared it to be without any historical value.

And now I have a short story to tell my readers of an incident that occurred to me ten years ago. I made a statement of it in my paper *Amerika* at the time, but as the interest in the Kensington stone was then generally on the wane, my story did not attract as wide attention as I had hoped.

These are the facts:

In 1910, on invitation, I delivered at Stanley, in the northwestern part of North Dakota, an oration on the seventeenth

of May, Norway's Fourth of July. Stanley was then a village of about one thousand inhabitants. The weather was fine; the speaking and music were from a platform erected in the middle of the main street; all business was suspended; and a large number of people had come from the surrounding country and from neighboring villages, so that I was favored with a large audience. In the evening there was a dance in a large hall over a corner drug store. I was asked to attend this ball, but as I was to take an early morning train for St. Paul, I decided to retire early at my hotel. But I stepped into the drug store where ice cream, soda water, and cigars were sold. On entering the drug store I heard a man making a vigorous speech in praise of the orator of the day. He told the people how that gentleman had been a professor at the University of Wisconsin, how he had served a term as United States minister to Denmark, how he had perpetrated book after book extolling the culture of the Scandinavians, and insisted that he was entitled to far more appreciation than was generally accorded him. This advocate of mine was attired in the clothes of a workingman, more or less covered with dry mud, but his speech revealed a man of more than ordinary culture. If he had been an Irishman I should have been sure that he had kissed the Blarney Stone. He could quote Swedish poetry and Latin and Greek phrases with absolute accuracy. He was well up in literature, history, and philosophy. I admired him, not because he had showered compliments on me and handed me a cigar, but because he was a man of wonderful intelligence and of thorough education, and still did not feel above doing common work.

In addressing him I said, "Who in the world are you, anyway?"

He told me that he was a Swede, that his name was Andrew Anderson, that in his younger days he had been a student at the celebrated University of Upsala, and that in 1882 he had quit the University, packed his books, and emi-

grated to America, settling in Hoffman, Minnesota, where he now owned a valuable farm. He had for years worked on Jim Hill's Great Northern Railroad and was now accidentally at Stanley as foreman in a dump on the great magnate's road. In honor of Norway's independence day he had given the men under him a holiday and with them he had come to town to take part in the celebration and to hear me speak.

Hoffman, Minnesota! This set thoughts whirling in my brain. I asked him if that was not near Kensington and whether he knew a man there by the name of Olaf Ohman, on whose land a stone with a runic inscription had been found.

"Of course I know Mr. Ohman. He is a neighbor of mine, and he is my brother-in-law."

He unfolded to me that Olaf Ohman had come from Helsingeland in Sweden in 1875 and had settled as a farmer near the village of Kensington.

Andrew Anderson added, "He is a man in easy circumstances. He was educated as a mechanic in Sweden and is thoroughly skilled in the handling of all kinds of mechanics' tools. He is not a college-bred man like myself, but he has always been a great reader. His favorite books are Alexander von Humboldt's *Cosmos* and a work in Swedish called the *Gospel of Nature.*"

At this point I invested in a package of Havanas and compelled Andrew Anderson to go with me to the hotel where I was stopping and on arriving there we went to my room where I closed the door. I prodded him with all manner of questions in regard to the rune stone and I found him very familiar with its history.

In the course of our conversation he gave me an interesting account of a deposed Swedish minister by name Fogelblad. This Reverend Mr. Fogelblad was a graduate from the department of theology in the University of Upsala and for some years he had served as a regular pastor of the national church in Sweden; but he had grown so dissipated that he

had to be deposed. Having lost his position and standing, he had emigrated to America and had found his way into Minnesota, where he visited the various Swedish settlements as a typical literary tramp, paying for his living at the various homes where he stopped by giving entertaining and instructive conversations and writing letters to friends in Sweden for people who were not themselves handy with the pen. On these wanderings he came to Hoffman and Kensington and fairly ingratiated himself with Andrew Anderson and Olaf Ohman. Both of these men were deeply interested in cultural topics and the tramp Fogelblad had a large storehouse of knowledge to draw from. In fact Mr. Fogelblad made Andrew Anderson's home his headquarters and there he died about the year 1900. Andrew Anderson reverently closed Fogelblad's eyes in death and took him to his final resting-place. I may add that Anderson and Ohman and Fogelblad had long since abandoned the Lutheran Church and by their neighbors were classed as liberals in religious matters. The Reverend Mr. Fogelblad, so Anderson told me, was well versed in the subject of the Old Norse runes. Anderson, himself, had brought with him from Upsala, Fryxell's great historical work which contains a full account of the runes with facsimiles of the various runic alphabets. He loaned this book to his brother-in-law, Olaf Ohman, and oftentimes Fogelblad, Anderson, and Ohman spent the evenings or Sundays together discussing the runes. Fogelblad and Anderson would write out long stories with runic characters and then read and translate what they had written to Ohman. In further evidence of Fogelblad's attainments, I may add that he wrote an ambitious book called *The Age of Learning (Upplysningens Tidehvarf)*. It has no important bearing on the subject, perhaps, but I may add that the three were all very proud to consider themselves wholly emancipated from the dogmas of the Church.

So we now have here Olaf Ohman, who settled near Kensington in 1875, and on whose farm the notorious rune stone was found at the root of a young tree in 1898; Andrew Anderson, who arrived from Sweden and settled there in 1882; and the Reverend Mr. Fogelblad, who came to Minnesota about the same time and spent much time at the homes of Ohman and Anderson. All three were deeply interested in the runes and had made a pretty thorough study of the subject. Either Anderson or Fogelblad could prepare an inscription on paper and the mechanic, Ohman, could readily give the runes permanency by chiseling them out on a stone.

Mr. Anderson, whom I can best describe as a diamond in the rough, did not, I must admit, in my long and interesting conversation with him, confess that either one of the three had had anything to do with the much advertised Kensington Rune Stone, but I will add with emphasis that he did give me several significant winks. When I pressed the question whether he and Fogelblad had not concocted this runic inscription hoax, he told me that under no law was a man expected to incriminate himself and so far as Fogelblad was concerned, he would be the last man to cast aspersions on the memory of a departed friend.

The fact that Ohman, Anderson, and Fogelblad were all three Swedes throws a flood of light on the first two words of the inscription which begins: "Eight Goths." Considering the high intelligence of Olaf Ohman and his deep interest in literature, science, and history, can any of the defenders of this rune stone explain how he put this wonderful find to such sordid use as to serve as a stepping-stone to his granary? Surely he would not be guilty of such vandalism, if he had the slightest faith in its genuineness as an historical relic. Would he not rather have given it a place of honor in his parlor or library?

Andrew Anderson and I parted in the small hours of the morning with a most cordial handshake and as the very best

of friends. This interview has served to solve in my mind with entire satisfaction all the mystery surrounding this much exploited rune stone, which, from whatever point of view it is considered, is nothing but a poorly devised fraud.

How easy it would be for three cronies in Madison to carve some words and figures on a slab of stone, then some dark night bury it under a tree on the eastern shores of Lake Monona, and finally, after a few years, bring it to the light of day and claim that it must be a relic of pre-Columbian times.

And now, my gentle reader, I leave the matter to you and ask you to draw your own conclusions in regard to the true origin of the Kensington Rune Stone. So far as I know Anderson and Ohman are still living near Kensington. May I not therefore suggest that anyone sufficiently interested can make a pilgrimage to their homes and interview them and so probe this matter further? I have no doubt that the result would be a complete vindication of the conclusion I have reached as to the authenticity of this runic inscription. May I not also suggest that this fake has now been exploited and written up far more than it deserves and that pen, ink, paper, and brains may be employed to some better purpose?

EARLY LIFE IN SOUTHERN WISCONSIN

DAVID F. SAYRE

In writing a paper on the phases of a new life in a new land one suddenly becomes convinced of the truth of an old saying, that "many of the ills of life go where the white man goes, and stay where he stays." Forty years ago one never saw a crow in Wisconsin, and yet within but a year the supervisors of Rock County passed an ordinance to pay ten cents for each crow killed. In the fall of 1849 I rode eight miles, at the request of a doctor, to find a weed which he needed for one of his patients, a weed which covers the state today. The first dandelion in this region was brought the same year from Lexington, Kentucky, and planted in a garden in Section No. 9 of Porter, for table use. The Indian papoose was never stung by a honeybee until the white man brought this maker of sweets to his country. But it was not all ill which the white man brought. The Fourth of July and picnics came with him, too. The Puritans tried to banish Christmas, but Thanksgiving, at first, and afterwards the Fourth of July they originated and handed down to the whole nation. The Saints' days do not receive a cordial welcome. So the Fourth of July and the picnic came to northern Rock.

Among the curious new sights which came to the eyes of your fathers was the annual autumnal migration of the Indians (Winnebago) from their reservation in the north to the lakes at Madison, and thence down the Catfish River to its mouth in the Rock, thence up the Rock to Lake Koshkonong, for their yearly supply of wild rice. Their trail usually followed the river until it struck the northwest corner of the south half of Section No. 13 of Porter, thence direct to the Indian Garden where the Catfish empties into the Rock. Of those Indians who came in canoes, the women and

children almost always camped on Section 13, and then it was that white husbands saw the primitive and proper condition of mankind. No sooner had they paddled their canoes ashore than the women took the hatchets and began to build the tepee—wigwam we called it. They cut down the poles and planted them in the ground and covered them with matting, while the braves, their lords, seated themselves on the ground to smoke, to talk—say politics—and fix their traps. No one of us white men ever found our wives or sisters allowing us to do that. The wigwam put up, the begging began. Every family received a visit from one of the women. Everything eatable was asked for: pork, flour, potatoes, butter and bread, and all were thrown into their blankets, a motley mass. The blanket probably had once been white, but soon took on the color of the wearer. One visit of the wives of these "noble red men" and all romance of Indian life was gone. The strongest imagination could never conjure up a Hiawatha, or even an old Nokomis. These parties came down the river all through the fifties and sixties, but the fast coming settlements of the white man and the failure of the wild rice in the lake put a stop to them.

Rock County is today what the women and men of the forties and fifties made it. You who see it now dotted with pleasant houses and profitable farms can not see it as it was sixty years ago, a great sweeping, undulating plain of rich prairie land covered with the richest flowers, relieved with trees along the river banks and in groves to give variety to the picture. Today you see it as man has transformed the beautiful, bounteous, unprofitable nature into money-making houses and fields and smoking factories. Today you meet with a public opinion which governs your houses, your farms, your social manners, your eating and drinking, even your dress, and everything which joins you to the world of your fellow men. Mrs. Grundy has come in. Then every man who came here was a law unto himself. He brought his old

habits and manners—habits and manners as different from the other few incomers as the eastern society from which he came differed. Everyone fenced his part of the section, plowed his fields, and built himself a shanty without regard to the ideas of his far-off neighbor, but always with due regard to the few dollars in his purse. Even his few farm animals wandered where they saw fit.

Every newcomer was a neighbor to everyone within miles of his home. There was plenty of work to do, few to do it, and everyone gave what he could to help. Those of you—I am not talking to the ladies now—those of you who have broken your acres during the last thirty years with three or four horses and a narrow breaking plow can scarcely understand the slow process of breaking land with six yoke of oxen and a thirty-inch plow. I wish you could have seen the long string of droning cattle—the biggest one always the leader and always called "Baby." But they broke our ground and fitted it for the wheat that was sure to follow. Everyone raised wheat, and little else. How did we manage to live through some of those years? The first crop of wheat I raised I sent to Milwaukee—that was the only market—and sold it at forty-five cents a bushel and paid twenty-five cents to the man who hauled it. It netted me twenty cents per bushel. I am glad I was not married then. After I had been here two or three years notice was given that a new machine, a reaper, was to begin to cut the wheat on a neighboring farm. As a matter of course we all turned out to see the sight—four horses before the reaper, in appearance like the early McCormick, but the machine dropped the unbound sheaves right in the track of the horses. There were not binders enough, so the onlookers had to turn in and bind so that the machine could make the second round. It was a failure. And then came the McCormick, the first one, one with the reel driven by a belt. Oh, how arms and backs ached raking off that heavy grain: two men on the reaper, five men binding, and

two men setting up in shocks. Nine men day in and day out, week after week, for our wives—those glorious women—to cook for. You ladies of today, who have your well-appointed houses to look after, may know whether your mothers were worthy of the worshipful love of their husbands. And then the necessary food for all these men. The hot saleratus biscuit and dried apples. How constant they were. Beef 2½ cents a pound by the quarter; 10 cents for a chicken, big or little; 5 cents a dozen for eggs; 2½ cents for dressed pork; butter—every housewife made her own. I can remember no price for it. Every farmer raised his own flour, although some drove from fifty to seventy miles to Fulton to the mill to grind their wheat, until Beloit and Stoughton started their mills.

But the women of that day—how did they live such work-a-day lives? I know they took their hours of rest. One day in April of 1850 I was drawing logs to the sawmill in Fulton. The snow was six inches deep and had been lying for two days on the ground, with mud two or three inches deep under it. I was using a pair of bobs, no box on it. As I passed through the village, on the brightest of bright days, I saw several ladies at one of the houses at an afternoon party: young married ladies as full of fun as any young girl needs to be. One of them hailed me, saying, "Won't you give us a sleigh ride?" They could not be refused. Six or eight of them came out and somehow seated themselves on the runners, among them the only woman in the region who had money, the wife of the proprietor of the village. He had made four thousand dollars in his mill during the winter. The wife, as in duty bound, had gone to Milwaukee and bought a rich black velvet mantilla. I venture to say no such thing had been seen in Rock County before. Arrayed in this rich costume she seated herself on one of the crossbars of the runners. The ride was perhaps a mile through the snow and slush, the women laughing at the fun, as a true woman has a

right to laugh. At the end, say of a mile, I turned around and thoughtlessly struck the horses slightly with the whip. Oh, what screams! "Stop! Stop!" The horses stopped, and looking about there sat the velvet mantilla with the owner in it, in six inches of snow and slush. Was there ever such a shamefaced driver? With no fault of his own, he knew that that rich velvet mantilla could never look fresh and unsoiled again. But the women had the fun. All the more so because of the constant work of those days.

The young girls, where were they? I have been trying to count them. I can remember but nine in a circle, the diameter of which is fifteen miles. I do not think I have missed anyone. I am not practiced in passing the girls by. One of them you have in your town now; one who carried joy and brightness to all within her reach. Permit an old man to bring the tribute of his respect and lay it at the feet of one whose young maidenhood threw so much sunshine over the dreariness of a new country.

When I came to this beautiful land I had a wholesome fear of two things: fever and ague, and rattlesnakes. You can imagine that my anxiety in regard to the ague was not allayed when I was told at my first call upon a neighbor that "this was the healthiest place he had ever lived in; there had not been an ague in that house for two weeks." But fifty years have come and gone, and the dreaded disease has not made its appearance yet. As for the snakes, not one was seen for three months. One evening in the early gloaming, in crossing the bridge at Stebbinsville, a peculiar sound was heard, a sound which once heard is never forgotten. I stopped and listened, and walked back and forth to see what made it. As I passed a certain point of the bridge, it grew louder and more constant. I fixed the point, and on looking over the railing, saw coiled up on a brace a miserable little snake, say fifteen inches long, rattling his threats at me with a snake's venom. A little blow of a stick ended his threats, and fear of rattlesnakes vanished.

The first Thanksgiving in Rock County ought ever to be remembered. Nelson Dewey was the first governor of the state. He was not supposed to be a religious man, and allowed his first year (1848) to go by without a Thanksgiving. In his second year the month of November came, and no proclamation. There lived in Janesville a constable named Martin Dewey, and in the middle of the month the Janesville *Gazette* published a proclamation of a Thanksgiving signed "M. Dewey." Everyone supposed that the printer had made a mistake in the letter "M" so the good people made preparations and celebrated the first Thanksgiving in the county. The day was just past, when the Governor, ashamed as was thought, issued a genuine proclamation, signed "N. Dewey," and fixed another day, and so we had two Thanksgivings, I think within a week of each other. We did not have the turkey, nor the mince pies, but we did have pumpkin pies, and as good a dinner as you can have nowadays.

But to come to more serious reminiscences, Rock County in the late fifties and early sixties had supported Mr. Lincoln for the presidency, had seen him elected, and knew that he was inaugurated into his office. Then it heard like a sudden, awful peal of thunder the cannon at Fort Sumter. It had but one thought, one desire—to hasten to defend the Union. Our county needed no inducement to rally to Mr. Lincoln's call to arms. The county's quota of men was on hand. Public meetings were held in every township. In the town of Porter the remembrance is very vivid with me of how one of the most prominent Democrats stepped forward with the strongest resolutions in the support of Mr. Lincoln, whom a little while before he had warmly opposed. Need I tell you that that very man advocated the levying of two taxes each year in that town, which was done, rather than run into debt in securing the money which was needed? Need I tell you how the price of every necessity of life was doubled,

quadrupled? No one murmured. It was the price of our Union and had to be paid. The balance was not always on the wrong side of the sheet, either. A neighbor sold thirty hogs for $900—thirteen cents a pound—and they averaged less than two hundred fifty pounds in weight. You ought to have seen the presents which that man brought to the Christmas tree in Fulton church.

In the time of the war one man, known to you older citizens, bought a piece of land. The wife of the seller declared that she would not sign the deed unless the buyer gave her a dress. An old custom was that a married woman need not sign a deed for her husband's land unless the purchaser gave her a silk dress. In this case the buyer went to Janesville and bought the dress, paying almost as much as a common silk would cost today. When the woman opened the bundle she found twelve or fourteen yards of bed ticking. She was satisfied and signed the deed.

The soldiers went out from us bright and joyful, but oh, the heart-breaking groans of the mothers and wives of those who never returned. The remembrance of them is in every cemetery, and you see the memorial flags there on every Memorial Day.

One of these boys—he was a mere boy from Fulton Sunday School—enlisted and after a long service was with General Thomas in the battle of Nashville. His health was badly shattered, and when the battle began he was told by his officer to go to the rear. But no; all the first day, and at night he was repeatedly advised to keep to the rear; he refused and was in the fight all the next day until Hood was driven back and our troops shouted for victory. Then and only then did Alonzo Sutton give up the fight, and was sent home to die in our midst.

In conclusion I wish to say that I have never seen any other county save one which I would exchange for this. And that one is Chester County, Pennsylvania, where those Dutch

farmers have piled up two hundred years of wealth. When our children shall have seen two hundred years of service here they will not even wish to go to that beautiful Dutch county.

If I could call before you now the men and women of fifty or sixty years ago, you think you would cry out, "What dreary, heavy-worked lives they must have lived." Do you think so? Their lives were as full of joy and healthy experiences as you fair women enjoy today. When you look out of your windows any day and see the earth all aglow with sunshine your hearts are lifted up. Those fathers and mothers of yours were looking forward to prospects as bright as the sunshine on your fields. They came from the work of eastern homes, which were stationary and gave them no promise of any future; they came to homes here, bringing brighter days, more light, more sunshine, and drawing them more and more into touch with the world around them. They fought a brave fight and victory was their reward.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN WISCONSIN

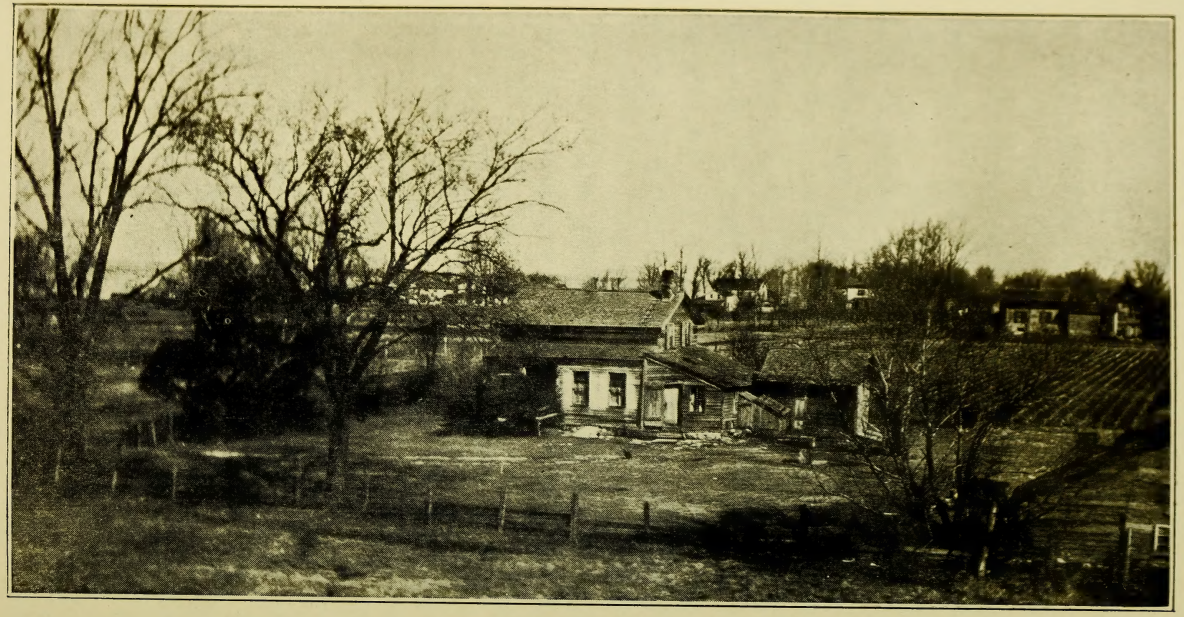
W. A. Titus

III: TAYCHEEDAH, A MEMORY OF THE PAST

Yet it was not that nature had shed o'er the scene
Her purest of crystal and brightest of green;
'Twas not her soft magic of streamlet or hill,
Oh! no—it was something more exquisite still.—Thomas Moore.

On the east shore of Lake Winnebago about three miles in a northeasterly direction from the mouth of the Fond du Lac River lies the decayed hamlet of Taycheedah. It is credited with a year-around population of one hundred and fifty and has a good public school, a Methodist church, a post-office, and a small general store. It has a weather-beaten shed where passenger trains stop on signal, but has no station agent and no freight service. This commonplace description would fit any one of a hundred small towns in Wisconsin, but Taycheedah is not commonplace; it has a history reaching as far back as the first settlement of the Lake Winnebago region and was once the social and cultural center of Fond du Lac County with a commercial importance that eclipsed the neighboring settlement of Fond du Lac.

The first white explorers found an Indian village on the site of Taycheedah; in 1795 it is recorded that Sar-ro-chau was the chief of the Winnebago band at this point. Grignon speaks of Sar-ro-chau as "one of the best of Indians." The old chief took part in the War of 1812 and died soon after the close of hostilities. His son, Charatchou, better known as The Smoker, aided the whites in the pursuit of Black Hawk's warriors in 1832. The Taycheedah Indians were long remembered by the early traders and settlers because of their friendly attitude and their willingness to assist the newcomers when other Indian bands became unruly.



THE OLD VILLAGE OF TAYCHEEDAH

In the years of exploration and early settlement all travel routes from the Green Bay settlements to the Fond du Lac region followed the east shore of the extensive inland lake, and the travelers were sure to pass through Taycheedah as a gateway to the prairie region beyond. These pioneers were enthusiastic about the possibilities of this old Indian camping ground as an ideal location for a village or a city. A settlement was begun at Taycheedah in 1839 which soon outstripped the earlier and rival settlement at Fond du Lac. There was little to commend the Fond du Lac location at this early day. The land on which it was built was marshy and almost as low as the lake level; the drainage problem, if it occurred to the early settlers at all, must have seemed next to impossible. Inundations occurred every spring when the snow melted on the surrounding hills. From a geographical viewpoint, however, Fond du Lac was the logical place for a city. Situated at the upper point of the lake, future railroad lines from both sides would necessarily converge there, and this prospect must have gone far to overcome the effect of the depressed and cheerless terrain. The harbor facilities, also, were superior to those of Taycheedah.

From the sandy shore line at Taycheedah the level land, covered by great groves of forest trees, stretched backward for a full mile, and then came the picturesque ledge two hundred feet high with another area of level wooded country above. From the higher levels the view across the lake was indescribably beautiful, and the entire topography seemed to lend itself to the building of an attractive urban center.

These respective advantages and disadvantages caused the rival settlements to contend for the supremacy for a number of years, although in the early forties Taycheedah was by far the larger place. About 1848, however, Fond du Lac began to attract settlers in such numbers as to establish its supremacy for all time. The final result was largely due to the foresight of Dr. Mason C. Darling, who having acquired

much real estate in Fond du Lac donated a site for the courthouse as well as for many of the new business ventures in the struggling community. It is said that real estate in Taycheedah was held at a high figure by speculators, but the outcome was exactly the reverse of what these land-owners expected. Money was scarce in the new country, and business concerns located where lots could be secured free rather than where they were held for fancy prices.

The first settler in Taycheedah was Francis D. McCarty, who built his home there in 1839. The beauty of the location attracted the better class of early settlers from the East, and it was said that in the decade between 1840 and 1850 more than half of the prominent men of Fond du Lac County, the local aristocracy so to speak, lived in Taycheedah, and many of these men were known throughout Wisconsin. The first public schoolhouse in the county was built in Taycheedah in 1842. Governor James D. Doty assisted in the actual work of construction, and the school bell, the first ever heard in Fond du Lac County, was the gift of Col. Henry Conklin. This bell was brought by Colonel Conklin from the dismantled steamer *Advocate* which was wrecked on the Hudson River; it is interesting to know that the old bell still calls together the juvenile population of the vicinity. Edgar Conklin was the teacher of this pioneer public school, which served the people of both Taycheedah and Fond du Lac. On its records were inscribed the names of Darling, Conklin, Ruggles, Perry, Moore, Carlton, and Elliott—families that later became well known in Fond du Lac when the business interests of Taycheedah were transferred to the more promising village at the end of the lake. The first general store in Taycheedah, opened in 1841, was owned by B. F. Moore and J. T. Moore. This store served the entire region northward to Brothertown and did a thriving business, the daily cash receipts often running as high as several hundred dollars. B. F. Moore later became the owner of the La Belle Wagon Works, one of the

leading manufacturing industries of Fond du Lac in the seventies and eighties.

A hotel was built in Taycheedah village as early as 1840; F. D. McCarty, who was later elected county sheriff, was the first landlord. Later this hotel was owned by Nathaniel Perry until the old building became inadequate to accommodate the many travelers who came to or passed through the village. Mr. Perry then built a much larger hotel. This hostelry under the Perry management was known from Green Bay to Chicago for its genuine hospitality and the excellence of its meals. The Perry family later moved to Fond du Lac where one of the sons, J. B. Perry, was for more than fifty years connected with the oldest bank of the city as bookkeeper, cashier, president, and chairman of the board of directors. He still lives in retirement in Fond du Lac, beloved by the thousands of his fellow citizens whom he so courteously served and assisted during his long career as a banker.

While the Taycheedah harbor was never a good landing place for any except the smallest craft, it is a fact that the first steamboat that ever floated on Lake Winnebago made its maiden trip from Taycheedah. This vessel was the *Manchester,* Capt. Stephen Hoteling, master. In 1843 Captain Hoteling brought the boat from Buffalo, New York, to Taycheedah, where it was overhauled and repaired. For a number of years Taycheedah was the southern and Neenah the northern terminus of this steamboat line; Fond du Lac and Oshkosh were intermediate stopping places for the *Manchester.*

In 1850 there were in operation in Taycheedah a large flour mill and a sawmill. The foundation of the flour mill may still be seen near the lake shore. A tin shop, a dry goods store, and two blacksmith shops were additional industries of the thriving village during the period of its prosperity.

Colonel William J. Worth (later General Worth of Mexican War fame) camped at Taycheedah village in 1840

with a regiment of regular troops. Mrs. Louisa Parker Simmons, who was a resident of the vicinity at that time, gives in her *Pioneer Reminiscences* of 1879 a very interesting description of the event. Her husband supplied the troops with milk and other food luxuries during their brief stay.

Among the early settlers of Taycheedah village, few had the advantages of birth, culture, and education to such a degree as did Colonel S. W. Beall and his talented wife whose maiden name was Elizabeth Fenimore Cooper. Colonel Beall was a native of Maryland and a direct descendant of the Randolphs of Virginia, the Carrolls of Carrollton, Maryland, and the Singletons of South Carolina. He was educated at Union College where he excelled as a classical student. Later he studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1827 he married Miss Cooper, who was a niece of James Fenimore Cooper and of Governor Morris of New York, and a great-granddaughter of Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1835 the young lawyer was appointed Receiver of Public Lands for Wisconsin and Michigan and with his young wife came west and located at Green Bay. This appointment was obtained through the influence of Chief Justice Roger Taney, who was a close friend of the Beall family in Maryland. In 1837 the Bealls returned to Cooperstown, New York, where their luxurious and hospitable home became the rendezvous for the literary celebrities of the time, among whom were Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. In 1840 Mr. Beall again brought his family to Green Bay and two years later built a comfortable pioneer home in Taycheedah village where he resumed his law practice. With a few temporary interruptions, Taycheedah was the home of the Beall family for many years. Mr. Beall was chosen a delegate to both constitutional conventions, the one whose instrument was rejected by the people and the one which framed the present constitution of Wisconsin. In 1850 he was elected lieutenant gov-

ernor of the newly-formed commonwealth. After his term of office expired he went into the Rocky Mountain region, largely because of his love of adventure; while on this expedition he with others located the city of Denver, Colorado.

When the Civil War broke out, Mr. Beall enlisted as a private, although he was at that time fifty-four years of age. He was rapidly promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel of the Eighteenth Wisconsin Volunteers. Colonel Beall fell severely wounded at the battle of Pittsburg Landing but recovered sufficiently to reënter the service and was placed in command of a prison camp. After the war ended he went to Helena, Montana, then a rough border town, where in 1868 he was shot and killed during a political altercation.

Mrs. Beall devoted the later years of her life to Christian work and to a broad charity that knew neither class nor creed. She died in 1879 and is buried in the little Protestant cemetery above Taycheedah. The foundations of the old Beall home in Taycheedah still remain, but the grounds that surrounded the old house are now used as a pasture.

As before stated, the decline of Taycheedah became apparent before the Civil War, and nearly all of the old families removed to Fond du Lac or elsewhere, taking with them in many cases the business in which they had been engaged. The site still remains, beautiful as ever, but the glory of the once prosperous village has long since departed, and its present moribund condition attracts the attention of even the casual visitor. However, the lake shore is no longer untenanted, for a continuous line of summer homes fringes the water for miles, and lake front lots have a value never dreamed of in the old days of Taycheedah's prosperity.

THE CAREER OF EDWARD F. LEWIS

FRANKLIN F. LEWIS

Edward F. Lewis was born July 16, 1821 in Groton, New London County, Connecticut, where his early boyhood years were lived. When he was nine years old his parents moved to Cortland County, New York. Here at the age of sixteen he was bound as an apprentice to a shoe manufacturer for a term of three years. He had served two years of this apprenticeship when in 1839 his father, Abel Franklin Lewis, returned from Wisconsin, where he had developed a water power and built a sawmill, and announced that he had decided to remove with his family into that section. Not wishing to leave his son Edward behind, he procured his release from the apprenticeship contract by the payment to the master shoemaker of one hundred dollars.

Abel Lewis returned to Wisconsin with his family in the spring of 1839, the overland trip having been made with an ox team and covered wagon. The water power and mill were located on Turtle Creek in what is now known as the town of Turtle, Rock County. The mill was on the southern side of the creek, the home directly across the creek near the end of the bridge which was located at this point. This bridge has since been replaced by a steel structure. A year or two later the mill was converted into a flour mill. My father has told of the hours he tended to the grinding in this mill, often at night, when it seemed he could scarcely keep awake.

Here he was working when Deacon Stephen Barrett with his wife and nine daughters came from Ashtabula County, Ohio, and settled in Clinton, the adjoining town on the west. Of course the young people soon became acquainted. For Edward this acquaintance ripened into an engagement of marriage with Betsy L. Barrett, the second oldest daughter.

The wedding ceremony was performed April 19, 1841 by Elder Henry Topping of the Baptist Church, of which both young people were members. After the wedding feast the bridegroom took his bride to the home of his father in Turtle, where he had made arrangements to live and continue his work in the mill. Here the young people lived for eight years, and here their first three children were born to them; the second of the three boys died in infancy.

In the fall of 1848 when the California gold fever was at its height the imagination of the people of the Middle West was so stimulated that parties were formed in almost every section to make the trip across the plains on the approach of the coming spring. Among these enthusiasts was the "Lewis Party" as it was later called, which was organized with its headquarters in Milwaukee. Mr. Abel Franklin Lewis became a member of this party and was later elected its captain.

It will be readily understood that Edward also became interested in the project, as the subject was a matter of common discussion about the family table. He did become so imbued with the spirit of the venture that he proposed to my mother that he, too, join in the "quest for the Golden Fleece."

"Husband," she replied, "You may go if you think best; but if you do go, you must take me and the children with you. We cannot be left alone in this strange land."

My father replied to the effect that they would keep together and would establish themselves in a home of their own on the Government lands then being opened to settlement in the interior of Wisconsin.

About the first of June the following year, 1849, he put their household goods into a covered wagon and with his wife and two little boys, Judson six years old and Stephen ten months, with a yoke of oxen at the front for motive power and a cow, which my mother's parents had given them, tied at the rear to furnish milk by the wayside, they set forth to find that new home which was to be "their very own."

In due time they arrived at the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers, at the lower end of which stood Fort Winnebago. Here my father learned that desirable lands could be had northwest of that vicinity so he decided to look in that direction. The next afternoon in making the ford across the Big Slough, as it was called, about five miles from the portage, his wagon became stalled in the middle of the stream. He unhitched the oxen and took them to the shore he had just left and turned them loose to feed; he then built a fire under a large tree at a camping place near by and carried mother and the children to the shore where he had decided that, by force of circumstances, they must remain over night. A flock of blackbirds attracted his attention and taking his gun he soon had enough of them to give the whole family a blackbird stew for their supper. The following afternoon found them on the farther bank of the little stream known as Beaver Creek, so called because of a dam the beavers had built across the stream, which the little animals were still using. That evening as they were preparing their supper a couple of teamsters who were returning from the pineries farther north stopped near them and asked if they might join them in the evening meal. In the morning they insisted upon paying for the service they had received and advised my parents to remain where they were and open a wayside hotel for the accommodation of the travelers who were passing back and forth between the lumber mills farther north and the source of their supplies farther south. They called attention to the fact that this was one of the favorite camping places on the line.

This suggestion was adopted. The wagon box was placed on the ground under the tree, and the family made their home therein while the contemplated house for home and hotel was being built. After six weeks of chopping in the woods near by, sufficient logs were cut and prepared for the purpose, and a building bee was announced. Invitations were extended to

the settlers within a radius of five or six miles, and at the appointed time the "raising" was begun. Before noon the logs were all in place. Lumber and shingles having been provided, the roof and floors were soon laid, and the family moved into their new home—"their very own." A signpost was set up in front and a crescent-shaped crosspiece attached to it upon which the name selected had been painted—"The Pinery Exchange." Into this home a little more than a year later the writer of this article was born. Upon the organization of the township, which was effected November 18, 1852, the name Lewiston was selected in honor of Postmaster Lewis, who was the third settler in the town and in whose house the meetings preliminary to the organization were held.

Edward F. Lewis was living in this home in the town of Lewiston in the fall of 1856 when he was elected to the office of sheriff of Columbia County. The first of the January following he entered upon the duties of the office and moved his family into the residence portion of the jail building which was located in Portage City, the county seat. The main portion of the building, which was constructed of sandstone blocks, was about thirty-eight or forty feet square, two stories in height, with a flat roof. In the rear was an annex containing dining room and kitchen with sleeping rooms above. The main entrance was at the center in front. Directly opposite this entrance, guarded by a heavy oak door with strong locking device, was the stairway leading to the second story in which was located the jail proper. In front of the entrance door was a porch platform about six feet square from which two or three steps led to the ground.

The location of the jail was at the east side of the city overlooking the low grounds comprising the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers; between these rivers a canal had been constructed and owing to the difference in the level of the waters between these rivers locks had been placed at either end of the canal to control the flow of water. A flour

mill was built just below the lower lock near the Fox River, the power to operate it being taken from the head obtained there.

Several houses had been erected on the higher ground across the river from Fort Winnebago on the south shore. One of these houses belonged to Jean Baptiste Dubay, a half blood Indian, who lived there with his Indian wife. Dubay had located there some years before and opened trade with the Indians, the American Fur Company furnishing him with goods. This house was erected by him under the impression that he had the right of "squatter's privilege" to claim and occupy the land.

Later the flour mill was sold to Reynolds and Craigh. They commenced erection of another house on land to which Dubay felt he had prior right; he therefore made earnest protest, but without avail, as the workmen continued with their construction. One evening after the workmen had retired, Dubay took his ax and chopped down the studding that had been erected during the day. Mr. Reynolds learned of this action and came over immediately to look into the matter. He returned to the Dubay home and the two became engaged in a heated discussion. Dubay's wife came out and joined in the discussion. Reynolds resented this intrusion and made remarks to her which Dubay considered insulting. Dubay then went into the house and returning with his gun in his hand ordered Reynolds off the premises. Dubay claimed Reynolds was under the influence of liquor and that a piece of board which he had in his hand was raised in a threatening manner. The gun was then fired, killing Reynolds instantly. Dubay went back into his house and closed the door; but no one ventured to follow him.

My father's version of the continuation of the affair was substantially as follows:

One evening as I was sitting on the steps in front of the jail a wagonload of men came from the city and called to me

as they drove rapidly by the jail: "Dubay has shot Reynolds and we are going out to lynch him!" My team, attached to a light buggy, stood at the hitching post near the corner of the building; into the seat I sprang and drove rapidly to the scene of the shooting, passing the other men on the way. I found a crowd of people about the house, Dubay being inside. Entering at once I told Dubay to hurry with me to avoid the mob that was coming out to lynch him. He seemed glad to accompany me; and the men at the door offered no hindrance.

My own team being winded by the fast drive out, I commandeered a rig standing near, helped Dubay, who was a very large man weighing over three hundred pounds, into the buggy, and taking the tie strap in my hand ran along ahead of the horse, not daring to trust the rig to carry the two of us. The road which I had decided to take was only a wheel track along the north side of the canal; it had never been worked and was so rough I was sure that the men of the mob would not try to follow us. It was direct, however, and considerably shorter than the regular road on the south side; by taking this road I had planned to avoid meeting the mob that was bent on lynching my prisoner.

We hurried in this way as best we might till the buggy broke down under the excessive strain; then we ran side by side, reaching the jail safely. Hurrying up the stairway I locked my prisoner in an inner cell, locked the door to the outer cell room, ran down the stairs, closed the door at the foot, and was just in time to close and lock the outer door behind me and turn and face the angry mob as it approached the steps. For when they reached the scene of the shooting and saw that their quarry had flown and by what route, they sprang into their wagon and hurried back the way they had come, hoping to intercept me at the bridge crossing the canal near the jail.

As I turned the key in the door behind me and faced the mob of madly excited men whose one thought was to avenge the violent death of a fellow citizen and friend by a deed of

even greater violence on their part—a reversal to a condition of lawlessness in concerted action—with the thought in mind of responsibility to my prisoner as well as the protection of society against its own self, I undertook to speak to the men before me: But Mason, the leader, shouted to his followers, saying, "Come on, boys; let's finish our job!" and started for the door at my back. As he reached the porch level he put out his arm to brush me aside. I had in my right coat pocket the pair of handcuffs I had taken with me to the arrest of Dubay; involuntarily these were in my hand and I gave him a blow on the side of the head which knocked him back into the crowd.

Then, in the lull which followed I addressed the men saying, "Men, do you realize what you would do? This man, Dubay, is defenseless; he is under the care of the law. It is my duty to protect him to the full extent of my power and to call upon every one of you as law-abiding citizens to aid me in the discharge of this responsibility which you yourselves have placed upon me. I implore you as you value the peace and protection of society for yourselves and for your families that you go quietly to your homes." I further called their attention to the fact that my wife was lying in the room at their left with a babe scarcely twenty-four hours old. I urged them, as they loved their own, to give heed to the urgency of the situation.

The greater part of them did retire, but a number remained about the building all night. The next day, leaving a guard at the jail, I went to town to call a posse to aid me in the further discharge of my duty as custodian of the peace of the community; I also secured a half bushel of revolvers and a number of guns.

While making these arrangements my friend Mason, of the evening before, addressed me saying, "What are you going to do with these?"

I replied that I intended to protect to the full extent of my ability those whom the law had placed in my keeping.

He said, "You don't mean you would go so far as to use these on your friends?"

I replied that I certainly would do so if the occasion required it. I further said it was very lucky for him that I did not have one of these weapons in my hand when he approached me as he did last night.

These weapons and a number of long-handled pitchforks were taken to the jail. Ugly rumors were in circulation that made it obligatory upon me to prepare against extreme emergency. A number of men were sworn into service as special deputies; and a force was kept on guard in the jail day and night till the excitement had passed away. Guards with weapons in their hands were maintained on both first and second floors of the building as well as upon the roof. The long-handled pitchforks were to be used to throw down scaling ladders should any such be set against the building.

Word came to me later that after I had made the plea to the mob the leaders held a consultation and decided that they must give attention to the extreme family situation mentioned; that when Dubay came to trial he would have to be taken to the court room and that would be their time to get him.

As I remember my father's version of the appearance of Dubay in court it was as follows:

The trial of Dubay was listed on the calendar of our court for its fall session. I arranged with the judge that information should not be given the public of the day Dubay would appear before the court to answer to the charge against him and to make his plea thereto.

Upon the date arranged I took Dubay and with a couple of deputies as guards we entered a closed carriage and were driven by a circuitous route to the court building. Upon our entrance into the court room several men arose to go out; but they were stopped by deputies whom I had placed in the room

with orders that no one should be allowed to leave the room or to pass any signals through the windows while Dubay was present.

He was presented to the court, the charge against him was read, and his plea made. He was then hurried into the carriage and rapidly driven back to the jail, where he was held pending the issue of the trial. I have no remembrance of a second trial. There is, however, an impression in my mind of arrangements for getting Dubay to the state prison at Waupun; this impression may have been due to certain plans my father had developed through which to get Dubay safely to Waupun in the event of prison sentence having been pronounced against him. However, Dubay was finally acquitted.

At the close of my father's term of office as sheriff he engaged in mercantile trade in Portage; after two years he closed out this business and went back to his homestead in Lewiston. During the Civil War he served as deputy provost marshal. Of the trying times of those days he used to relate many incidents that were full of human interest. In 1870 he virtually founded the business later known as the Lewis Knitting Company.

Mr. Lewis died in his old homestead in Lewiston in 1885. By his ready comprehension of situations about him, his capacity to adapt himself to meet them, and through the sterling qualities of his character he commanded the respect and esteem of those who knew him. This is evidenced by the fact that there was scarcely a year in all his residence in the county when his name did not appear upon the official list of town or county. He was a worthy representative of that pioneer element which laid the foundation for the present success and prosperity of our state.

DOCUMENTS

A JOURNAL OF LIFE IN WISCONSIN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

KEPT BY WILLARD KEYES OF NEWFANE, VERMONT[1]

June 2d One year since I left Newfane, Vermont—at that time little did I think of wandering thus far— Where I shall be one year from this, God only knows—whether in time, or in Eternity! What an awful thought— Yet true it is, my journey through time is already commenced—the distance of the way is unknown to me; but the valley of Death I must surely pass, and then comes a never ending Eternity!

A boat arrives from St. Louis—Lt. (now Capt.) Hickman arrives, and takes the command here—Col. Chambers starts immediately for Bell-Fontaine—

June 3d Mr- Shaw arrives with a boat laden with whiskey, Pecans, &C.

June 4th A third boat arrives, heavy laden

June 5th A hard shower with thunder and lightning, last night—a fourth arrival from St. Louis— Whiskey being plenty, drunken people are, likewise—

June 7th Sabbath—horseracing and boxing are the order of the day—

June 8th Very warm—Mosketoes begin to be troublesome—a canoe arrives from Mackinaw in 10 days—brings no news worth remarking—

June 10th Several boats start for Mackinaw—forward a letter to Dr Peters—

June 11th A remarkable heavy shower last night, thunder and lightning—morning cool and pleasant—mid day another shower—my house leaky—it stands about 8 feet higher than the brink of the river and 6 rods therefrom—

June 14th Sabbath—the militia muster several delinquents tried by a court-martial—I have not been called upon yet Mr. Nathaniel Shaw starts on his [trip] to the state of Newyork—expects to pass through Ellicott—

[1] Continued from the March issue. For a short account of this journal see THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, III, 268-70.

June 15th Green Peas and ripe strawberries— Evning—a large Schooner like boat comming in under sail—said to be 80 or 100 tons burthen—
June 19th Rolette starts for Mackinaw— Write to Dr. Peters—we have his buisness, to appearance, in a favorable way—
June 21t Sabbath—very warm—Indians dancing through the streets this is common—they are mostly naked except a breech clout—and painted all colours
June 28th Sabbath—Refreshing wind A fleet of Winnibago Canoes arrive—from the "Wisconsin"—they encamp on the island opposite the town—
June 29th high wind and cool—
" 30th General muster of the troops the Winnibagoes have a screaming dance or powwow through the streets
Eve—Lt. Armstrong returns from St. Louis—
July the fourth—Anniversary of American Independence, announced by the discharge of Cannon—the troops march out and fire a Federal Salute by plattoons—they make a handsome appearance—the French citizens refuse to celebrate the day, saying it is no holiday for them—which draws many reproaches on them by the Americans—
July 5th Sabbath—Commence boarding with Mr St. Cyre—very warm weather
July 7th Remove my school to Mr. Johnsons store—
July 9th Lt- Shade starts for Bell Fontaine
July 11th Yesterday and today uncommonly warm—the mercury in Mr- Johnsons thermometer arose to 103 and 104 a band of Souix Indians come in, and dance what is called the "Buffaloe dance" they wear on their heads large Buffaloe pates with the horns, and shaggy wool or hair more a foot long giving them a hedios appearance
July 12th Sabbath—rather cooler—some wind thunder and appearance of rain—
July 13 Lt. Fields starts from hence—there is but two commissioned officers left, and about one hundred and fifty men
July 25th two months since I began school have about 20 pupils—several who have subscribed have never sent—not considering they are obligated to pay their subscription
July 26 Sabbath Cucumbers for the first time

" 28th Rise early and go into the river to bathe, practice it twice or thrice a week

July 30th Remove to the schoolhouse, just finished it stands about 12 rods back of the main street—people begin to harvest their wheat

August 1t Several showers of rain, my new habitation roof leaky—speend my leisure hours in reading borrowed books or Newspapers—Sabbath morn—August 2d Rise at Revilee about day break—proceed to the river and bathe—read in the Bible till Breakfast— Walk into the country to Mr Ayrds mill Mr Andrews has it nearly ready for running— Eve—read the Scriptures—O! that one spark of heavenly love might kindle in my breast the flame of pure devotion

Aug. 6th Rise at day break—had a tremendous shower last night—thunder and lightni[n]g remarkably sharp and heavy—sudden change in the weather from hot to cold. . . . People are in anxious expectation of boats from Mackinaw

Aug. 8th Being saturday keep school but half of the day—clouday and rainy—dull times at present—

Aug. 9th Sabbath Pleasant and Cool— Gambling, horseracing and dancing are the order of the day

How frail is human Nature! when we resolve to be pure before God, then quickly comes some vice or earthly vanity, breaks the specious charm of virtue and shews our real character

Sabbath Eve. finish reading my Bible through by course, which I commenced just one year and three months before

Aug 10th People are very busy in harvesting

Aug. 13th A Boat from St Louis—for mr- Botillia[2]— A few Newspapers

Aug. 16th Sabbath—Borrow some Newspapers of Mr Boilvin,[3] Indian Agt. Read in the Western Monitor several Pieces of Religious inteligence calculated to awaken the stupid sences to the concerns of immortality—

[2] François Bouthillier, an early resident of Prairie du Chien. In 1819 he was an associate judge of Crawford County. In 1832 he removed to Fever (Galena) River.

[3] Nicolas Boilvin, a native of Canada, came to Spanish Louisiana in 1774. In 1806 he was appointed assistant Indian agent to the Sauk at the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi; two years later he removed to Prairie du Chien to assume the duties of John Campbell, agent at that place, who had been killed in a duel. In the War of 1812 Boilvin sided with the Americans, for which course he was forced temporarily to abandon Prairie du Chien. But for this interval he resided there until his death in 1827.

Aug. 17th Maj- Morgan[4] arrives and assumes the comand of this place

Aug. 19th Mr Findleys[5] boat arrives

Aug. 21t—Another Canoe from Mackinaw Mr Henly of St. Louis—

Aug. 20th Cool morning— Mr Warner arrives in a canoe from Mackinaw

" 23d—Sabbath—five or six Indian trading boats from Mackinaw—they immediately proceed for St Louis, and intend going up the "Missouri" river

Aug. 24th three months since I commenced school keeping—conclude to keep a few days longer, as some of the inhabitants are anxious to make arrangements for the continuence of the school—

Aug. 27th Finish my school this day

" 28th After Breakfast, Walk into the country—two men in company with me having their fowling pieces for diversion of shooting birds, happened to fire within a short distance of the fort—were overtaken by a serjt. and file of men, and taken to the fort, for violating a late order prohibiting any one firing within 600 yards of the garrison—they were soon released and rejoined me—in high spirits about their frolic

Aug. 30th Sabbath—One year since I arrived at Prairie du Chien—How differently does the Past appear, when viewed in contrast with what our flattering hopes had taught us to expect from the Future!—This, was full of high hopes and expectations— That, is plain reality, in which we behold few transactions worthy of being remembered, and fewer that have equaled the anticipations of our fertile imaginations—still we continue in the same pursuit of ideal happiness—Disappointed in one object, our fertile minds fix upon another equally fallacious, and pursue it with equal ardor, till some fairer phantom,

[4] Major Willoughby Morgan was a native of Virginia who entered the army in 1812. At the close of the war he took over Mackinac from the British and commanded it for a few months. In the summer of 1816 he commanded the detachment of troops which reoccupied Prairie du Chien and began the construction of the first Fort Crawford. Here he was relieved by Colonel Chambers early in 1817, but returned later as noted in the diary. Most of his remaining years were passed as commander at Fort Crawford, where he died in April, 1832. He was succeeded by Colonel Zachary Taylor, of Mexican War and presidential fame.

[5] Probably John L. Findley, who had been engaged at Prairie du Chien as sutler's clerk and as an independent trader. He was made clerk of the court on the organization of Crawford County in 1818. In 1821 he was killed by Indians in the vicinity of Lake Pepin.

seizes our imagination, or till it comes to naught. All the human race are naturaly inclined to seek for happiness. But many, very many continue through life "grasping at a shadow and in the end lose the substance"

"How vain are all things here below,
"How false, and yet how fair;
"Each pleasure hath its poison too,
"And every sweet a snare.
"The brightest things below the sky
"Give but a flattering light;
"We should suspect some danger nigh,
"When we possess delight."—Watts—

September 1^{t} Engage to work for a few days with Mr. Mann [Munn?][6] house carpenter.

Sept. 2^{d} Four boats from Mackinaw—2, intending to go up the St. Peters river the other 2 down the Mississippi—

Sept. 6th Sabbath—A meeting for religious worship at the schoolhouse Exercises performed by the reverend Mr- Mann—his text from the last chap. of St. Mark "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned!["]— the first meeting of the kind I have attended since I left Newfane—

Sept. 10th Commence boarding with Mr. Mann, $20 per month, he is about opening an American tavern in this place

Boats arriving daily from Mackinaw,—no news—

Sept. 11 Mr Forsyth[7] Indian Agent for the Misouri territory arrives—also a Mr Tanner in search of a brother[8] who has been 28 years among the Indians—being taken when 9 years old

[6] Of this man we have learned nothing other than the items presented by Keyes in the diary before us. From these it appears that he was a preacher as well as a carpenter. He went with Keyes down river in 1819 and seems to have located at Clarksville, Missouri.

[7] Thomas Forsyth was Indian agent at Fort Armstrong (now Rock Island, Illinois) from 1819 to 1830. Back of the earlier date lay a long period of creditable activity on the Northwestern frontier. Forsyth was a half brother of John Kinzie of Chicago, and from 1803 to 1812 the two were partners, Kinzie with headquarters at Chicago, Forsyth at Peoria.

[8] This was John Tanner, one of the most tragic figures in the history of the Northwest. About the close of the Revolution a Chippewa squaw in the Saginaw River region lost a son. To quiet her grief, her husband led a raiding party to Kentucky and there stole young Tanner, a boy of nine years, and presented him

Sept. 12th Read late newspapers at mr Johnsons
Sept. 13th Sabbath Attend meeting—very few of the French attend—as their "Catholic" Priests have made them believe it is certain damnation, to go [to] a "heritic" meeting
Sept. 14th Rolette returns from Mackinaw with two boats—
Sept. 17th Afflicted with the tooth ache Mrs- Mann trys to draw my tooth without effect—apply various remedies to no purpose
Sept. 19th the surgeon in the garrison makes three fruitless attempts to extract my troublesome tooth—each time was like the shock of a little earthquake—he then attempts to burn the marrow—but all to no purpose, it will ache—
Sept. 22d—Agree to work one week for Mr Ayrd, at tending his new horse mill lately put in opperations with two run of stones—
Sept. 27th Sabbath—Meeting as usual
" 29th Walk out to Roletts mill (formerly Shaws) Mr Andrews is hanging a new pair of stones—they appear likely to do considerable buisness—
Sept 30th Out of business at present—am calculating to try one hard winters work in getting lumber from the Pinery provisions scarce is one obstacle to my undertaking—
Oct. 1t have cured my tooth ache by filling the hollow with cotton—
Oct 3d Cold, and high wind
Oct. 4th—Sabbath—Meeting at the schoolhouse as usual—but few people attend, except soldiers, who behave very orderly and decent—

to his wife as a substitute for the child who had died. Notwithstanding the motive for the abduction, the child was fearfully abused by his captors and eventually was sold to an Ottawa squaw near Petoskey. By her he was kindly treated and with her migrated to the Red River country. Here he lived for many years, his presence being noted by several travelers from 1801 on. He performed some useful service for Lord Selkirk in the latter's contest with the Northwest Company, and when Selkirk visited the United States in 1817 he proceeded to advertise for Tanner's white relatives. As a result the long lost relative was found and returned to civilization. But he had become too thorough an Indian in habit and breeding ever to be at home among the whites. After a stormy career at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie he disappeared in 1846 as mysteriously as when stolen from his parents in boyhood. The brother of Henry R. Schoolcraft was assassinated from ambush, and at the same time Tanner's hut (where he lived alone) was found burned and its owner missing. A vigorous search was made for him on the supposition that he had committed the murder, but he was never found. Years later an officer of the garrison at Fort Brady, who had directed his men in the search for Tanner, confessed on his deathbed that he himself had been the assassin. Tanner was known as the "white Indian." Dr. Edwin James wrote his life story, *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (New York, 1830).

Oct. 5th Walk into the country—take a range on some of the high hills—have a beautiful prospect of the Prairie and adjacent Mississippi—gather a few hickory nuts and return—

Oct. 6th Spend the day in writing and reading—

Oct 25th Sabbath—the Weather warm and dry—high wind—the fires are performing their accustomed autumnal rout over the hills—have been engaged some time in small jobs of Carpenter work, and neglected journalizing—

Oct 28th Birth Day—

26 years have rolled away since first I drew the vital air! and what has been the result, may with propriety be asked? Surely 26 years must have produced something worthy of remembrance.—To pursue the question, What have I been aiming at these many years? or have I run thus far at random without an end in view! Nature, Reason and Revelation, all tell me I had my Being from some Superior Power; he has placed me here on Earth—and for a limited time is certain from what I see of others of my fellow mortals who are daily quitting the stage of action!—He has endowed me with Reason, which is a certain proof I am intended for some end, superior to that of the Brute Creation—

I will now take a retrospect of the 26 years (and perhaps the greatest part) of my life; that have flown to Eternity—

I was born among the ruged mountains of Vermont—whose robust inhabitants are mostly cultivators of the soil they posess in independence and peace—

Where Luxury and Dissipation, those deadly foes of Religion and Liberty are hardly known—

My Father removed from Shrewsbury Mass. to Newfane Vt. about the year 1788 and entered on a small farm entirely new, and a soil as rough and heavy timbered as most any of the Vermont mountains produce; but by industry and perseverance, has succeeded in bringing it under a tolerable state of cultivation, and with the products thereof, has been enabled to support a numerous family, and bring them up in habits of soberness and industry.

Being thus erly accustomed to look upon labour as no disgrace, but rather a necessary Blessing for the promotion of health and happines I was contented to toil with unremiting diligence towards acquiring

a livelihood. The country being new I had but a slender chance of getting instruction at school; however I was erly taught that learning was better than riches, that without an Education I should be liable to repeated embarrassments, and must expect to rank among the dregs of Society. These erly precepts; and a natural disposition thereto, excited me to learning and reading soon became my ruling passion—I read with avidity all kinds of books, but those of mere amusement engrossed my chief attention—indeed I indulged myself to excess, and every leisure moment was occupied in poring over some musty author—

at 8 years of age I was put to reading the Bible, but by frequent delays it was 4 years before I finished it. At 11 years of age I lost my mother, a misfortune I was too young to realize in its full extent.—My memory still retains many a useful precept I learnt from her lips; She was a professor of Religion, and, as I hope and trust, a sincere Christian.—

Days, and weeks, and years glided away with little variation; reading continued to be my chief delight which rendered me more dull than otherwise, in company with my juvenil companions—I generaly attended Christian Worship every Sabbath; but the pious impressions there made were mostly transcient, and soon gave place to visionary schemes of worldly happiness In my 20th year I was drafted from the militia to hold myself in readiness to march at a moments warning, in consequence of the war between American and Britian Orders soon came for us to proceed to the frontiers, but the war being unpopular; this was considered as an artifice to wheedle the militia into Canada, to assist in the conquest—therefore most of the men chose to risque the consequenc and abide at home—

Although I was naturaly of a quiet disposition, yet I was pleased with the prospect of seeing the world as I thought, (having scarcely been ten miles from home before). I resolved to go, my friends supposing it to be a gone case with me; not expecting I should ever return. however, after nine days tedious march we arrived at Burlington Vt. on the east side of Champlain Lake, where we encamped 3 weeks then crossed the Lake to Plattsburg N. Y. and remaind 4 weeks, from from thence we removed to Champlain near Canada line, we were soon joined by about 6 or 8000 regular troops.—Both threats

and flattery were tried in vain, to induce the militia to assist in carrying war, and devastation among the inhabitants of Canada—the regulars soon after returned to winter quarters and the militia were disbanded. From this little excursion I returned well sated with military Honor, and was happy to again enjoy the sweets of a rural life

On the 28th of Oct. 1813 I arrived at 21 years of age. I then considered I was just commencing to act for myself,—the wide world was before me, and though I had long anticipated this day, and in imagination planned many a scheme for wealth and fame, I found the road not so smooth and easy as I had imagined.—The ensuing winter I engaged to teach the school in my native village,—the ensuing spring I went to Northfield, Mass. and hired to a farmer, but not liking my situation I soon returned, and farmed for an old neighbor—in the winter I again commenced school keeping this was irksome business, but not so laborious as farming—

on the first day of April 1815 I made an unfortunate blow with an axe and split my left foot this disabled me for four months and at times is still troublesome in Sept. I agreed with a Clothier to serve two seasons of four months each to learn the art of dying and dressing woollen cloth—in January I again commenced my school in the same district as formerly—

the following summer, 1817 [1816], I hired at farming in a neighboring town. the succeeding winter I completed my apprenticeship at the Clothing business, and in the latter part taught school as usual two months in an adjoining town—

I began to grow tired of the way I had passed my time for several years—to work hard for other people, and gain little— I had flattered myself with the hope of gaining a little property, uniting myself with an amiable female, and enjoying the unrivaled pleasures of a rural and domestic life. The prospect of a profitable employment was precarious, all kinds of business seemed at a stand in this situation of affairs I bid adieu to the [some words crossed out here] and my other friends and connections and started on the journey with which this journal commences—

Nov. 15th Sabbath, It has been remarkable pleasant for some time past.—Mr Mann discontinues preaching for the present

A boat arrives from St Louis, for the Sutler—
Nov. 18th Work for Mr Ayrd making a bolting chest— Mr- Botillia arrives from St Louis lost his boat on the rapids of the river Du Moine with considerable property for himself and others—
Nov 22d Sabbath—A Funeral on the death of Madam La Point[9]— ceremonies performed in the Roman Catholic form—
Nov. 26th Continue working at Ayrds mill—Pleasant for the season—
Nov 27th Ride to town in the evening—about a dozen recruits or reenlisted soldiers frolicking on their bounty money of 6 dollars per mon—
Nov. 30th Take my gun and go a hunting find no game—explore Prairie de Souix one or two handsome farms might be cultivated here—Cut my name on a small oak at the upper end of the Prairie opposite a high bluff of rocks it being the extent of my travels up the Missisipi—
Dec. 1 Remove to town—Commence boarding with Mr. Findly 15 dollars per month
Dec. 4th Snow fell about one inch the first this season—
Dec. 5th Pleasant—
Dec. 6th Sabbath—Cold and windy ice floating down the Missippi in large quantities—
Dec. 7th the river frozen over
Dec 22 Commences snowing—at night snow about 3 inches deep
Dec. 23 Cloudy moderate weather
Dec. 25th Christmas—Observed by the people as a religious day— some as a drunken day—
Dickson and Music arrive with a large drove of cows and oxen— recieve a letter from Shaw—in the evening, get entangled with company at the tavern, who have a drinking frolic—Findly breaks his jaw and that breaks up the scrape
Dec 26th have entered into engagements with Mc. Nair.[10] to go to the

[9] This was Josette Antaya, wife of Charles La Pointe, a pioneer of Prairie du Chien. Her father, Pierre Antaya, was one of the founders of Prairie du Chien, locating there in 1781. Her mother was a woman of the Fox tribe.

[10] Apparently Thomas McNair, who had come to Prairie du Chien in the capacity of clerk in the sutler's store of his uncle, Alexander McNair of Missouri, who was later (1820-24) to become first governor of the state of Missouri. The younger McNair married a daughter of one of the French residents of Prairie du Chien, whereupon the uncle is said to have concluded his business was not being attended to with sufficient assiduity and sent out Wilfred Owens to take charge of it.

pinry of Black river to cut lumber he furnishes himself and one man I furnish my self and an horse—

January 1^{t} 1819 a day of feasting and revelry among all ranks of people—it is the custom with the French to salute the females with a kiss, the males by a shake of the hands, to signify that they bury old animosities and make friends—

January 7th 1819 Start for Black river—7 trains or sleds with one horse to each and 15 men in company, part are indian traders, the others are going to cut pine timber—my horse proves refractory in starting but after getting on the ice he goes well—encamp 3 miles from town when part of our company go back to get ready, and take a fair start—

Jan 8th—Our company rejoins us and we start in good season—the snow is about 3 inches deep, but thawing the ice is good

Jan 9th Before night the snow is mostly converted into water and runing top of the ice—however we make a good days travel—

Jan. 10th Sabbath—the water about 2 inches deep on top of the ice—proceed with caution, and pass with difficulty several places where the river is open—

Jan 11th Change in the weather, cold the ice clear and smooth—drive briskly—enter Black river about 90 or 100 miles from Prairie du Chien drive a few miles on Black river, and we find a place open—encamp—

Jan. 12th Hold a consultation how to proceed, after searching sometime drag our loads ½ mile on bare ground, find ice and by shifting and turning arrive at Morans trading house—

Jan. 13th Spend most of the day in cutting trees & stubs that will probably obstruct our rafts in the spring—the traders go no farther with us—we proceed a short distance

Jan. 14th Drive briskly all day—the ice smooth and good—the weather severe—

Jan. 15th Start early—getting impatient to find good pine—see enough that is not good—

Jan 16th Make Black river falls about noon—after searching sometime, conclude to retrace our steps 2 or 3 miles to a noble pinry but some distance from the river examine the situation of the place, and, commence cutting timber for our cabin—

Jan 17th Sabbath. Build our house commences snowing near night—
Jan 18th "Cache" or conseal part of our provision to prevent the Indians robing us—prepare to enter the pinery tomorrow—
Jan. 19th Snowing—Commence cutting pine—the parties are three as follows 1t Lupiere, St. Martin, DuPlisie and Charlow—2d Bauritt and Seymore—3 McNair, Spaniel and myself—
Jan. 20th Select the best and streightest pine, and hew it square from 12 to 15 inches—the longest we intend cutting is 27½ feet the other lengths 12½ or 25 feet
Jan. 24th Sabbath Agree not to work on Sunday—the hired men work for themselves
Jan. 26th A party of four men arrive to cut timber for Rolette
Jan 27th Greene, a frenchman, starts for Prairie du Chien—
Roletts men commence cutting timber—we object to to their falling any, among ours that is down
Jan. 29th Mc Nair hunts today and kills a Buck.
Jan. 30th we cut timber near the first rapids
Jan. 31t. Sabbath Early in the morning take a range to the eastward see some good pines, nothing else of importance—
Mc Nair and myself go up to the falls—about 3 miles, I judge the river decends in 20 rods 25 or 30 feet—We searched out a seat for a sawmill—put our names the day year and native place on a piece of lead, placed it under a stone at the foot of a tree cut the initials of our names on the tree &C—and returned
Feb 2d Pleasant weather—Write to Mr. Findley by one of Rolets men who starts to morrow for the prairie
Feb. 4th Cloudy and rainy—Evening fair and pleasant—Walk out and survey the beauty of the Heavens—the moon is little past the first qr—the stars bright and sparkling—in contemplating the wonderful works of Creation, the mind is soon overwhelmed in infinite variety, and endless extent, and returns unsatisfied to ruminate on things within its reach—My thoughts are turned to my native home,—I fancy my fathers family sitting in a circle around a Cheerful fire Oh what happiness should I enjoy to return once more and see them thus in health, and in the paths of Virtue—But alas! thousands of miles intervene and a thousand obstacles may obstruct my

wishes—My hope is in the mercy and goodness of God—my heart is stuborn and rebelious but my sincere and earnest prayer to God is, that he would soften and subdue it to his holy will, through the merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ—

Feb. 5th Have a misunderstanding and high words with Mc. Nair who denys one bargin and wants to make another more to his own interest—however we compromise the matter in the evening—

Feb. 6th appearance of colder weather—an Indian and his squaw comes to our camp they beg some corn and promise to hunt

Feb 7th Sabbath—Warm and rainy—the most uncomon weather I ever recolect for the time of year—no snow and the ground thawing—

Feb. 8th Snow in the morning—it soon dissolves—clears off warm—A gang of Winibago Indians arrive and encamp near us—they are begging and wanting to trade—tell them we have nothing to give or to sell but they must hunt for a living, as we work for ours. however we give them somthing to eat

Feb. 13th No snow—gear our horses and try to haul timber one horse proves contrary—beat him severely—

Feb. 14th Sabbath—Snow last night 3 or 4 inches—Mc Nair kills a deer the indians kill 3—

Feb. 16th More snow—hire Seymour to haul with my horse—

Feb. 18th finish hauling for the present

Feb 19th Snow falls about 6 inches

Feb 21t Sabbath—Pleasant—lay the bottom of our raft—

Feb 27 Finished hauling all we have hewed.

Feb 28th Sabbath Snows 3 inches—Pleasant

March 1t Severe Cold—saw shinglestuff—

March 2d Colder—Commence making a skiff of two large trees more than 3 feet through—our indian neighbors leave us.

March 3d Snows all day attempt hauling our skiff trees but find them too heavy

March 5th Snows very fast—work at shingles

March 7th 2 months since we left Prairie du Chien—squally weather—

March 21t Sabbath. for three or four days past it has been most severe cold weather—indeed it has been cold and snowy most of the time since March commenced—snow is about 20 inches

March 24th Moderate weather, bind up 7 thousand shingles—commences snowing before night—
March 28th Sabbath Snow about 2 inches last night—very pleasant saw a Robin symptoms of returning spring—the men are all at work making Canoes or paddles—I turn out and cut 9 setting poles have hard work in hacking them through the snow
Sabbath Eve. Clouds up—thunder, Lightning rain and hail—
March 29th Snow and blustering weather Roletts men coming short of provision 2 of them start for a trading house of his to get some—
March 30th Set fire to our tarpit.
" 31t Our pit burst out in the night which made us scamper in our flaps, cold as it was
April 1t South wind—warm—
April 3d Work hard loading our raft three men to help us—prospect of the river breaking soon
April 9th The Catholic french observe a fast in remembrance of the Crucifixion of our Saviour—we the Americans join with them in observeing the fast.
Ice floating—and the river rising
April 10 Rainy till noon—the wind shifts N. W.—Geese Ducks and pigeons plenty
April 11th Sabbath this day is kept sacred by the french in rememberance of the Resurection of our Saviour Jesus Christ
April 12th Pleasant—ready to start only wait for high water and the rest of our company to get ready
April 13th Start our raft and move them down a mile or 2 to anchor in deeper water encamp on board them at night—
April 14th Our Company all ready, 8 rafts in number—start about 10 oclock AM. run 2 or 3 miles, and we have the misfortune to run our raft on an island in a very bad situation—as we had previously agreed to assist each other in trouble, they all stopped as soon as posible, and came to our assistance—take our raft in 3 pieces and with much hard lifting in the water as cold as it could be without freezing we succeed in getting off—before night two other rafts run aground—
April 15th The river rising the rafts fast yesterday one got off without much difficulty—Roletes men leave 2 of their rafts—Mc Nair

undertakes to manage our small raft, Spaniole and myself manage the other two together, we outfloat all the other rafts—rainy—stop before night on account of their hallooing from behind

April 16th Start early—go pretty well with constant rowing till near night when we strike several times with violence against the shore which shatters our raft Bauritt sticks on a sawyer and is obliged [to] leave a part of his raft—after much trouble we anchor in a good harbour—it rains hard—build up our shelter, cook our supper and go to sleep contentedly.

April 17th Cold and wet—commences snowing—the river rose only one inch last night—overtake Bauritt who parted his cable last night and drifted till he struck a sand beach—all hands stop to help him off—afternoon, we run foul of another raft that turns our course into shallow water—obliged to wait for assistance—evening, anchor a little above the upper snie (or channel) that leads to the Missisippi—from this place, intend to double man our rafts, and make 2 trips as the navigation is difficult.

April 18th—Sabbath—Long shall I remem[ber] this day—the dangers and difficulties we have escaped by the mercies of God, I think I shall not soon forget— Seated on a bunch of shingles, after the toils of the day are over, my thoughts are turned to my native home. my friends and relations I hope and trust are attending the worship of God in a proper place, while I am here in an uncivilized land tugging with the oar and handspike

We started erly from our encampment a little above the upper snie or channel that leads to the Missisipi, with part of our rafts, double manned—run a short distance very well—then come to short bends in the river overhung with trees, whose tops frequently brush the water, the current rapid, our raft became in a manner unmanageable, and we dashed from shore to shore and raked by the trees that seemed to threaten us with immediate destruction; 2 horses were swept overboard, but swam ashore, we had an elegant skiff and canoe broken, lost several pieces of timber and our raft almost a wreck—however by the Providence of God we escaped with our lives, and less loss of property than we had reason to expect. and anchored at a place called "le Chepoie" a little below an old Indian trading house. find 2 of Rolettes men here who had been in quest of provision hear of

the death of old Mr Ayrd at the Prairie du Chien,—Refresh ourselves, and return for the other rafts—hard rowing against the current—come down with the other rafts in safty being better acquainted with the best channel—encamp for the night—

April 19th Cloudy, and prospect of rain—the bottoms are all overflowed for many miles.—the river is still rising—the Missisippi is no more than 1½ mile distant but we have 20 to go before we enter it We have another difficult passage to effect and start with only 2 rafts to look out the best channel—get fast with one raft, the other succeeds in finding a passage—

April 20th After much trouble and perplexity, by cutting some rafts in two, and part unloading others we succeed in getting all through about sunset this day—the current is very gentle, but the river spreads into many different channels, and these again are obstructed by old trees, stumps and sand-bars which rendered it difficult to find a channel large enough for our rafts to pass.

April 21t. Fair weather—start some small rafts to try the passage a few miles further—the people return and report favorably, get our horses once more on board, and set forward— 11 oclock A. M. enter the Lake, where we consider ourselves past most of our dangers and hardships; and I have reason to render thanks to an ever Merciful and Benificent God, who has protected us, unworthy Beings, thus far in safty.

April 22d. Get under way very early—float slowly, as there is but little current in the lake. the feathered choir are tuning their melodious notes, as a prelude to a beautiful day, and vegetation, which, but lately appeared in the cold embrace of death, is now breaking forth into life and animation!— enter the Missisippi about 10 oclock A. M.—a large horde of indians encamped on the point 12 oclock pass the River "Racine" [11] it comes in on the West, its water is said to be very clear; it has quite a green appearance at a distance,—pass the River O'shaw[12] a little before sunset it comes in on the east—

April 23d Loose our cables at daybreak and float away—sunrise, meet old Mr. Grosler returning with provisions to the assistance of Roletts party—as we had relieved their necessities in Black river, he

[11] Modern Root River, in Houston County, Minnesota.
[12] Modern Coon River, in Vernon County, Wisconsin.

now testifies his gratitude by tendering whatever he has that he thinks will refresh us, as salt fresh Bread, old spirits. pass the Ioway River on the west— in the afternoon pass a high bluff called by the French Cap' o' lie,[13] from garlicks that grow at its base.—Mc.Nair, Lupiere and Bauritt leave us in a canoe intending to meet their wives before they sleep sunset—pass a party of French cutting timber.

April 24th Expect to reach Prairie du Chien by 12 oclock—morning rainy—8 oclock arrive at Prairie de Souix—

11 Mc. Nair and a party meet us to aid us in soon heave in sight of the town—the wind contrary, we are obliged to anchor a few miles above. bring in our raft in the evening

April 25th Sabbath Commence boarding with Mr. Man—he intends to go down the river with me.—

" 26th Divide timber with Mc. Nair. prepare to move down the river in a few days—Dickson, Andrews and Owens,[14] are preparing an expedition up Black river to build a sawmill at the falls

April 27th Warm weather—the river rising—A trading boat arrives from St. Peter's river they have made a bad trade—having but little peltry to what they usuly got—Dr. Wiley is dead, he was the principal manager of one of the trading companies—several of their men have died, others are sick—an epedemical disorder has visited them

April 29th South wind for several days, which prevents me starting with my raft.

25 or 30 canoes of Indians, of the Sack Nation arrive—Also a Band of the Souix these nations have been at war they hold a Council at the Indian Agents and agree to make Peace—but they generaly break it when they have an oportunity—

April 30th Leave "the Prairie du Chien" as I expect forever, was obliged to sacrifice considerable property.

2 oclock, Mr Man and myself having bid adieu to our friends, push off our raft and float pleasantly down the river—

[13] "Cap o' Lie," from the French "Cap à l'Ail," meaning Cape Garlic, was later transformed into the town name "Capoli." Garlic Cape is a bold headland on the Iowa side of the river, which was commented upon by most early voyagers on the Mississippi, e. g., by Long in 1817.

[14] Wilfred Owens was a Kentuckian who came to Prairie du Chien as a partner of Alexander McNair. He was one of the early probate judges of Crawford County. In August, 1821 he committed suicide by cutting his throat, the act being supposedly due to mental derangement.

Mr Man sleeps, while I watch our motions, and note down these remarks.—

I have spent near two years at Prairie du Chien, with little satisfaction to myself; and perhaps as little acquisition of property however it is folly to mourn mispent time.

Pass "Pike's hill," nearly opposite the mouth of the Ouisconsin; selected by Gen. Pike as a suitable scite for a fort.[15]—the evening pleasant—we conclude to run all night, and watch alternately.—the latter part of the night we both get to sleep awake in the morning and find all safe—

May 1^{t} Beautiful morn. Arrange our affairs in complete order—build a place for cooking, and live away in great style the river takes a long stretch without turning Pass the Lead Dubuque mines about 5. PM. let the raft run all night—both of us sleep a great part of the time—escape in safty—although very carless—

May 2^{d} Sabbath—the wind shifts to the East—a perogue passes us for Rock river my canoe breaks loose—save it by jumping in the river, and swimming ashore. the wind against us—ly by in the afternoon start out of our harbour by hard pushing—9 oclock in the evening strike on a sawyer and lie all night—high wind.

May 3^{d} Work most of the day in getting off the sawyer—the wind too high for starting—a heavy shower at night—thunder lightning wind and rain—

May 4th Start at day break, frequent showers—the wind against us lie by most of the day

May 5th Start early—9 oclock pass Boutilles [Bouthillier's] trading house, also an Indian village at the head of the rapids—the river is rapid 22 miles to Rock island on which stands fort "Armstrong" the country most of the way looks beautiful, gently sloping towards the river, covered with the greenest verdure and blossoms of spring. go down the West channel of rock island arrive at fort Armstrong 5 oclock P. M.

this fort is handsomly situated on the lower point of an island, the shore on which it stands is rock rising 12 or 15 feet above the water—at present there is only a Lieutenant and 12 men in the garrison—

[15] At the time of his expedition up the Mississippi in 1805.

stay about an hour and push off float all night—take turns in keeping watch have a pleasant run—the moon about the full.
May 6th We have a side wind that keeps us rowing constantly to avoid running ashore—stop before night—Prospect of rain
May 7th A shower last night—Breakfast and conclude to start, with a head wind—a shower the wind changes West and drives us under the East shore—strike on a sawyer, unload the hind part of our raft and get off—Evening pleasant—1 oclock morn I being on the watch find myself among sandbars—endeavour to avoid them and stick fast—work hard in the water 2 hours then lighten the raft and get off—run well the rest of the night
May 8th Chilly morn.—several showers thunder Lightning wind and rain—
May 9th Sabbath—Passed old fort Madison[16] 10 oclock last Evening, had a fine run last night—enter the rapids 18 miles long—ten oclock A. M. arrive at fort Edward[s][17] opposite the River des Moine—the garrison left the fort this spring Mr. Belt,[18] the Indian Factor, the Contractors Agent, and a few hirelings are all that remain—we dine with Mr Belt this fort is small, but handsomely situated on a point of land that overlooks the river on the East or Illinois side
3 oclock—start again—meet a boat under sail for Prairie du Chien—also a gale of wind that lays us by—sunset pass the end of Fox Slue so called 9 miles long—Mr Man unwell goes to bed. I have to watch alone Pleasant Evening *(Pass the site of Quincy May 10 1819)*[19]

[16] Fort Madison was established in 1808 on the site of the modern Iowa city of the same name. In the summer of 1813 the fort was besieged by Indians for several weeks; the garrison finally escaped by night, burning the fort as they withdrew.

[17] Fort Edwards, opposite the city of Keokuk, Iowa, was established in the summer of 1816. A factory was established here two years later. The fort was abandoned in 1824.

[18] Robert B. Belt of Maryland, who came to Fort Madison in 1812 as assistant to John W. Johnson, the factor. Belt was with Johnson for a time at Prairie du Chien and then received the position here noted.

[19] The italicized words were evidently written at a later time. Two years later Keyes, on a horseback journey through the wilderness, camped for the night on this spot. He was so taken with it that he resolved "if God would give him a foothold here" he would make it his permanent dwelling place. This resolution was responsible for the first log cabin, built on the site of Quincy in 1823, the home of the first three settlers, Keyes, Rose, and Wood. See Keyes family genealogy (Brattleboro, 1880), 7-8.

May 10th Pleasant. the wind in our favor 11 oclock pass Two Rivers so called—2 oclock, P. M. arrive at Bay Charles, I take the Canoe and explore it—two islands lie high up it—pass round them, see an Indian grave recently set up—Suppose it to be that of an Indian lately killed by the Whites, of which we heard the news at fort Edward—a little further at an old Indian encampment, I find a rod peeled and painted Red, stuck in the ground. and on the top of it was tied a piece of Scalp. bring it away—3 oclock Pass Missouri[20] Bear Creek here the Indian was killed, a town Hanniball[20] was commenced, but the inhabitants have left it. 26 miles to Louisiania Mo the first settlement on the river— Sunset, arrive at Gilberts Licks. A man formerly from Vermont lives here of the name of Hubbard—a town has been lately laid out by the proprietors called Saverton—we stop here for the night—a man promises us a deer by sunrise

May 11th The man brings in a deer according to his promise—Salt works are established at these Licks tho not at present in opperation—have 32 kettles, and allow they can make 10 bushels per day—purchase some fresh Butter, milk &C—and start—10 oclock we were met by a most violent squall of wind—which drove us into the river, and finaly quite across it. its violence was so great that every moment it seemed the raft would break in pieces the waves dashed over it with fury, and washed many things overboard—

I lost my hat in the scrape, and our canoe broke loose, but I fortunately catched it. towards evening, being busy in adjusting our things we ran on a Sawyer that stopt us for the night.

May 12th Unload part of the raft—find the snag, and cut it off—arrive at Louisiania village 12 oclock

this town is 2 miles below the mouth of Salt river, and was lately appointed the seat of Justice for Pike County

Not fancying this place very well, we soon pushed for Clarksville, 12 miles below the wind was unfavorable but the current pretty strong arrive at Clarksville about sunset—

this looks like a village in the wilderness.[21] however I like the situation better I think than Louisania—

[20] Apparently later interpolations.

[21] According to the local history the first cabin on the site of Clarksville was built in 1816. At the time of Keyes' visit, therefore, the place was still a new settlement.

May 13th A Public sale of lots in this village is to be held, on the 15th inst. we conclude to await the result.[22]
A thunder shower, the wind sudenly changes N. W.—cold and high winds.
May 14th Saunter about and examine the town site, there is but one frame house, and half- a dozen of hewed logs—tis said to have a fine settlement back of respectable and wealthy farmers
May 15th They commence the sale of lots,—sold about 50 lots this they varied from $100 to $240—the people who come in from the country appear mostly like respectable farmers, I conclude to tarry in this place a while
May 16th Sabbath a meeting for religious worship preaching by the Rev. Mr. Riddle, Baptist. Acts XIII. 32. 33
May 19th Go in Company with R. Burns to some deer licks to watch for deer 7 miles down the river 1½ back in the country kill one deer. tormented by mosketos
May 20th return in the afternoon, find an other canoe work hard in taking them both up the river—
May 21t Attend a rolling bee this morning Mr. Ewings[23]
— 22d help Mr. Burns plant corn.
May 23d Sabbath. read most of the day
May 24th Go a hunting, find no game—ascend the highest summit have a prospect of the river and adjacent country it looks beautiful on the other side of the river—
June 1t work for mr Man carpentering—
June 13th Bargin with Col. Millar for a lot in Clarksville price $180
June 16th bargin with Col. Miller to lathe a house at st. Louis price.
June 24th Mr. Man's family arrives from St Louis
July 4 Sabbath. Mr Phelan's infant died last evening. buried to day
July 5th Ride 4 miles in the country, to raising a grist mill for Mr Mulheron the country through which I passed rolling, wood land, mostly good farming land the farmers appear to be thriving
July 6th Mr. Man taken with the Ague and Fever several people sick in town—uncomon warm.

[22] The town was laid out by Governor John Miller; this was the first public sale of lots to be held.

[23] James Burns and Samuel Ewing were the two first settlers of Clarksville.

July 9th A heavy shower, I got caught in the rain in the highest perspiration—take cold with symptoms of the ague—
July 11th Sabath I have been quite sick people are taking sick daily.
July 18th Sabbath it still continues sickly, myself among the rest—
July 29th Continue weak and feeble, with much bodily pain—very sickly throughout the country

Here I discontinued writing in my journal, that is from July 29th 1819 to August 1821 and now I conclude to take it up again if not too Lazy. I will put down some of the principal events of the intermediate time, as my recollection serves me, so as to make it hang together—
Sickness raged to a greater degree than was said ever to be known in the country before—many died particularly new comers—I continued in a weak and debilitated state, just able to crawl and help myself or I should have been badly off—as I had a predeliction for settling in the state of Illinois, in sept. (1819) I made out to get down about 20 miles on the other side of the river to a place called "Salt Prairie" the highest settlement then on that side of the river.—in the latter part of Oct. I commenced a small school, of 10 or 12 pupils; more however sometimes than I knew how to attend however my disease gradualy wore away, and my strength returned. in Nov. wrote to Father—I got my raft from Clarksville and started for St. Louis the last of Nov.—saw Seth Kidder in St Louis wrote to Brother, Royal—the river was very low, and I had bad luck and lost part of my timber in going down—sold the remainder for $200 return to Salt Prairie and spend the winter there.
AD. 1820. Feb. I went to Edwardsville the seat of Justice for Madison County. it is a considerable town, tho of but few years growth, about 12 miles East from the Missisipi river I obtained many numbers of soldier lots offered for sale by speculators there.
Feb. 19th—started out to view the Bounty Lands. four others in Company; viz; Capt. J. Nixon, Mr. D. Dutton, Mr S. Gates, & Mr John Wood being all well mounted and equipt for the woods
* * * [24]

[24] The portion omitted comprises notes on the lands viewed and marked by the party for possible future entry.

March 1820 John Wood and myself form a partnership to go on to the frontiers and commence farming together accordingly prepare ourselves with provisions farming utensils &C as well as our slender means would permit 2 small yoke of steers a young Cow & a small though promising lot of swine: our whole amount of property was did not probably exceed $250. paid 50 & 60 dollars per yoke for small 4 year old steers $17. for small heifer. 6¼ cts per lb. for fresh pork. 75 cts per bushel for Corn or potatoes $8 per barrel for flour $4. per bushel for salt and other things in proportion

THE QUESTION BOX

The Wisconsin Historical Library has long maintained a bureau of historical information for the benefit of those who care to avail themselves of the service it offers. In "The Question Box" will be printed from time to time such queries, with the answers made to them, as possess sufficient general interest to render their publication worth while.

THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE COUNTY

Could I obtain through you a tract, bulletin, or book containing the history of Florence County, Wisconsin? I am connected with a large colonization company which will soon begin active colonization work in that county. I wish to obtain as complete a history of the county as possible and will certainly appreciate any assistance you can give us in this matter.

HOWARD I. WOOD
Marinette

Florence County was erected by the legislature of 1882 from portions of Marinette and Oconto counties; the former had been set off from the latter three years previous. Oconto County was originally a part of Brown County, from which it was set off in 1851. Brown was one of the two original counties erected by the legislature of Michigan Territory in 1818. The region composing Florence County was but little known to early white men. There was a portage route from Keweenaw Bay by way of Michigame River which was in use very early, during the French régime; but so far as known no record of any voyage by this route is in existence. The first white man who has left any description of his journey along the streams that bound Florence County is Captain Thomas Jefferson Cram, United States army officer, who surveyed the northeast boundary of Wisconsin in the years 1840 and 1841. Cram reports that the Brulé River (Indian name We-sa-co-ta) had a rapid current and varied in width from eighty to one hundred twenty feet. It had a rocky bed and was quite shallow. It took six days in high water to

ascend from its mouth to Lake Brulé; one may descend in two and a half to three and a half days with a lightly loaded canoe. There was but one portage at the mouth of Paint River (Indian name Me-squa-cum-me-se-pe); and one "décharge" a half a mile above. The banks were overhung with white cedar, through which a passage must often be cut for a canoe. Fir, poplar, tamarack, white birch, and pine lined the banks, which seemed at first to be lands of inferior quality. A few hundred yards back, however, was a rich upland with good hardwood timber. There were many Indian camping grounds along the stream, but no Indians were encountered until Cram's party reached Bad Water village. The whole stream formerly abounded in beaver and otter, which were nearly trapped out when the surveyors passed. The Pine River (Indian name Mus-kos-se-pe) was a low stream, the valley abounded in deer, and the Indians hunted along it very frequently. The whole region belonged to the Menominee tribe; but the Chippewa mingled with them. The Menominee River (Indian name Me-ne-ca-ne-se-pe) was desolate because of devastation by fire. At the Bad River village the Indians cultivated only potatoes; it was so far north that corn could not ripen before frost. In his report of 1841 Captain Cram said he had surveyed the entire Brulé River, which was 54 miles 950 feet long, and contained 59 islands.

Florence County remained a region for hunting and trapping until in 1877 iron was discovered therein. The iron mines of the Michigan side of the Menominee were discovered in 1873 by N. P. Hulst and other mining engineers. In 1876 The Menominee Mining Company was organized and the Chicago & Northwestern officials began the building of the Menominee River Railway which in 1877 was extended to the Vulcan mine. The Florence mine was discovered in October, 1874 by H. D. Fisher. Work there was begun in the winter of 1879-80 when 30,000 tons of ore were taken out. The summer of 1880 the railway reached the mine. This railway was incorporated with the Northwestern system on July 1, 1882. The Florence mine was named by Dr. Fisher for Mrs. N. P. Hulst. In 1880 Florence Township of Marinette County had a population of 267. In 1890 Florence County numbered 2,604 persons.

BERIAH BROWN

I want a brief biographical sketch of Beriah Brown to whom you allude in *The Movement for Statehood, 1845-46.* From other sources I knew he was one time editor of the *Wisconsin Democrat;* aside from that he was somewhat of a notable character in the early political life of Wisconsin.

I also know that he came to the Pacific coast about 1862 and soon became editor of a paper called the *Democratic Press;* that his strictures upon the government's conduct of the Civil War were very severe—rabid, I should say—he was classed as a rank copperhead at that time; that his printing office was gutted on April 15, 1865, because his attacks upon Lincoln were so violent; that he fled to Mexico at once; that he came to Portland in the fall of 1866, and was editor of the *Oregon Herald,* democratic, for about two years; that he was connected with other papers to some extent, but in no case did he stay in any one place very long.

The last I knew of him was when he was living in Seattle, and was being taken care of by his son, A. N. Brown, and died a number of years ago. At present I do not know where young Brown is.

I knew him in person in 1866-68, and frequently as a compositor placed his manuscript in type. He took a great deal of pride in his editorial career and often had a good deal to say of his "powerful influence" in the early legislative days of Wisconsin; also was eager to let it be known that he "frequently measured lances with Greeley, Bennett, Weed, Dana, Raymond, Bryant," etc., and did not come off second best.

George H. Himes
Curator and Assistant Secretary
Oregon Historical Society

Beriah Brown, third son of Beriah and Martha Ashmun Brown, was born at Canandaigua, New York, February 21, 1815. In 1829 he was apprenticed as printer in the office of the Batavia (N. Y.) *Advocate.* The following year he assisted in the establishment of the *Erie Observer* where he met Horace Greeley, then an apprentice in another office; an intimacy was formed between the two boys which lasted through life. He assisted in the publication of the Batavia *Advocate* for a time and in 1835 removed to Michigan where he established the *Tecumseh Democrat.* In 1839 he joined his brother, John A., in the publication of the Niles *Intelligencer.* In 1841 he removed to Iowa County, Wisconsin, where he engaged in mining and was made county clerk in 1844. He resigned this position in 1845 and purchased the Mineral Point *Democrat* which he removed to Madison in 1846 and changed to the Madison *Democrat.* He made his paper the organ of the "Tadpole" or "Progressive" Democracy and waged war against the *Argus,* styled "Old Hunker." The radical

measures which his paper advocated were adopted by the first constitutional convention and resulted in the rejection of the constitution. The factional warfare which centered in these two papers continued for some years, but in 1852 the *Argus* and the *Democrat* were united with Beriah Brown as editor. In 1855 the paper was sold, and after various changes, in 1860 Brown established the *People's Press* in Milwaukee and purchased a half interest in the *News*. In the winter of 1862 he removed to Stockton, California, where he was engaged as editor of the (Stockton) *Republican*, the only Democratic paper in the state. The establishment was removed to Sacramento in 1863 where the material was subsequently broken up and thrown into the street by a mob. After this Brown removed to San Francisco and established the *Democratic Press*. This establishment also was totally destroyed by a mob in 1865, and the editor was forced to flee for his life. After a few months in Mexico he returned and became joint publisher of the Santa Rosa *Democrat*. In 1866 he accepted a call as editor and general manager of the *Oregon Herald* at Portland; in 1869 he established the *Democrat Press* at Salem, Oregon. Repudiation of the state debt in 1870 caused him to leave that state and his party. He edited the *Standard* at Olympia, Washington Territory for a year and in 1871 established the *Puget Sound Dispatch* at Seattle, which was merged in the *Intelligencer* in 1878, of which he was senior editor.

In 1879 and 1880 Mr. Brown was mayor of Seattle. The next year he retired from active life, and died February 8, 1900 at the home of his son, A. N. Brown, at Anaconda, Montana.

THE KNAPP-STOUT & CO. LUMBER COMPANY

Can you tell me something about when the Knapp-Stout Company located at Menomonie, the number of men they at times employed, including their camp crews, and their use of printed duebills? Is it true that they had the largest sawmill in Wisconsin?

H. R. Holand
Ephraim

In the spring of 1846 Capt. William Wilson was ascending the Mississippi on a steamboat when he was told of the great stand of white pine on the Chippewa and its tributaries. He left the steamboat at Nelson's Landing and went across country on foot to the Red Cedar, where on the site of the present city of Menomonie he found

a small mill operated by the firm of Black and Green. The latter was eager to sell his share and leave the pineries. Wilson hired a canoe and with an Indian guide went fifty miles up the river to examine the timber. Satisfied that there was a great amount of timber he went back to his home in Fort Madison, Iowa, to secure money to buy out Green. He interested John H. Knapp, a young man of twenty-one just home from an eastern college, with some money to invest. May 19, 1846 Knapp and Wilson drew up a copartnership agreement and bought out Green for $2,000.

The mill began operating June first under the new name of Black and Knapp. That autumn David Black died, and Knapp and Wilson arranged with his executors for his share of the mill, paying in all $2,400 for his half interest. In August, 1850 the firm took in Andrew Tainter, their foreman. In 1853 Henry L. Stout of Dubuque bought a quarter interest, when the firm became Knapp, Stout and Company. The firm now expanded very rapidly. Stout's capital permitted it to enlarge operations. May 1, 1854 Thomas B. Wilson, oldest son of Captain Wilson, became a member of the firm. March 18, 1878 the company was incorporated with a capital stock of $2,000,000. In 1886 John H. Knapp retired from the presidency and two years later died. William Wilson died in 1892.

With regard to your question concerning the largest sawmill in Wisconsin, we have seen no such statement but it is not improbable. In 1878 the company had many mills: a water power and a steam mill at Menomonie; mills at Downsville, Rice Lake, Prairie Farm, Chetek; others also at Dubuque and St. Louis. The company was by 1878 the largest manufacturer of lumber in the United States and was said to be the largest lumber corporation in the world. In 1873 there were 1,200 men on the pay roll; in 1878, 2,500 were reported. At the semicentennial of the founding of the company, celebrated in 1896, it was announced that for the past fifteen years the pay roll had averaged 2,000 men. Eighty-five million feet of lumber per year was the average for twenty-five years (1871-96).

With regard to your question concerning printed duebills, we have no definite information but think it probable they were employed. The company owned many stores and farms, built and operated six steamboats, and did a considerable banking business. In all proba-

bility no other agency was more valuable in opening up, settling, and developing central western Wisconsin than the Knapp-Stout & Co. Lumber Company.

COSTUMES THREE GENERATIONS AGO

I am in search of details in the matter of dress of the American people, both male and female, during the period between 1825 and 1840. Also I wish exact information as to the manner in which French-Canadians and fur traders, trappers, and voyageurs of the Northwest Territory dressed during the eighteen thirties.

W. S. Hoffman
Campion College

The Americans of the period which you mention dressed in the fashion of the times, as imported from Europe. Traveler after traveler speaks of the fashionable mode, especially of the women's dress. Any book of fashions for that period will give you the general style. If you desire, we can lend you such a book.

As for the French-Canadians, voyageurs, etc., their dress was quite different. Almost without exception the men wore hunting shirts, either of linen in summer or of deer skin or blanket material in winter. Some few wore pantaloons, but the majority dressed like the Indians in long leggings and a breechclout. Moccasins were nearly universal. For exterior garments they wore a capot, that is a big cape with a kind of peaked hood to be drawn over the head. This was made of a blanket, or sometimes of skins. Ordinarily a large kerchief was twisted around the head. Some trappers preferred a skin cap with the animal tails dangling. The sash or girdle was one of the most important articles of dress. It was a long, straight piece of cloth or silk twisted around the waist two or three times. Into it was thrust the hunting knife and in its folds were carried small articles like the pipe, tobacco, etc. The hunting shirts and moccasins were frequently adorned with bead work. Fringes of dressed skin adorned the leggings and the bottom and front seam of the hunting shirt.

HISTORY OF FORT MACKINAC

Will you inform me as to the date when the old Blockhouse on Mackinac Island was built? I would be glad to receive any information that you can give me regarding its history or incidents connected with it.

William H. Dimick
Boston, Massachusetts

There are three old blockhouses on Mackinac Island at the east, north, and west ends of the oldest fort. The west blockhouse is the most conspicuous, the one commonly pictured. These are among the oldest military structures in the Northwest, having been built by the British between 1780 and 1782, when the fort was removed from Old Mackinaw, lying on the mainland to the south of the island. The occasion for the removal of the post was the success of the American forces under Col. George Rogers Clark of Virginia. Early in 1779 he captured the British commandant of Detroit, then at his advanced post at Vincennes, Indiana. By this blow all British officers in the Northwest were alarmed. Captain Patrick Sinclair felt it would be safer to remove his post to Mackinac Island. He began in the winter of 1779-80 to draw plans for an island post, which was finally completed in 1782. May 12, 1781 he bought the island from the Chippewa Indians. The deed of transfer, with the totem signatures of the Indian chiefs, is reproduced in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XIX, 633. When the British garrison was first removed to the island, the blockhouses seem to have been used as barracks. They are three stories high, and on each floor is a large fireplace, much needed in the winter days of this northern post.

To write a history of the blockhouse it would be necessary to recapitulate the history of the Northwest for over a century. Not until 1796 was the British ensign pulled down from the fort and the Stars and Stripes run up in its place. Twice thereafter the fort changed hands as an outpost during the War of 1812. When that war was declared, the British garrison some forty miles eastward received the news before it arrived at Fort Mackinac. Summoning his resources of regulars, fur traders, and Indians, Captain Benjamin Roberts advanced upon Mackinac, took post behind the fort, and summoned Lieut. Porter Hanks, the young American officer, to surrender. To avoid massacre of the inhabitants of the village the young officer yielded the post without firing a shot. A description of this event may be found in Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1912, 124-45. It is said that after the capture of the post Captain Roberts arrested all the men and larger boys on the island and confined them in the basements of the blockhouses. Those who took the

oath of allegiance to His Majesty King George were set free; those who would not were shipped off to Detroit on parole.

Two years later an American expedition attempted to recover the post. The British garrison was warned, and the attack failed. During the blockade by the American troops and the brief but sharp battle on the island the women and children of the village were kept for safety in the blockhouses of the fort.

After the treaty of Ghent was signed it was eight months before arrangements were completed for the evacuation of Fort Mackinac by the British troops. Their commander, Colonel Robert McDouall, was especially anxious that no Indian disorders or massacres of the inhabitants should occur upon his retirement. He waited, therefore, until the American squadron of four vessels hove in sight upon the morning of July 18, 1815. Within thirty minutes after landing, Colonel Anthony Butler, the American officer in charge, took over the post; for the last time the cross of Sts. George and Andrew came down, and the American flag arose upon the flagstaff of Fort Mackinac.

The entire history of Mackinac is replete with romance. One of the officers who came with the detachment of Americans in 1815 was Captain Benjamin K. Pierce, brother of Franklin Pierce, later president of the United States. Captain Pierce fell in love with a young half-breed French-Chippewa girl living on the island; she was beautiful and well-educated, and the wedding was a notable one, the mother and aunt of the bride appearing in full Indian costume.

At the time of the Civil War the fort had been ungarrisoned for some time. May 20, 1862 a detachment of troops arrived there as escort for several prominent officials of Tennessee who had wished to deliver their state to the Confederates. They were detained in honorable captivity for some months at Fort Mackinac. The post is now part of a state park belonging to Michigan.

SIOUX WAR OF 1862 AT SUPERIOR

Have you any record of the Sioux War of 1862 as far as it related to Wisconsin points? We belonged to the Home Guards, built a wooden stockade on the bay front in Superior, and families went into the stockade nights, etc.

The Home Guards were supplied with Springfield rifles and ammunition by the state, and under its control. The United States sent us a company of soldiers taken prisoners at Shiloh, and not exchanged. Captain Dixon was the commander. I think the company belonged to the Eighteenth Wisconsin Regiment.

There must be some record of the Home Guards, with lists of officers and privates, etc. If you cannot find any record in the state departments, would I be likely to find anything through the information bureau at Washington, D. C.?

I belonged to the Home Guards; so did my brother, James Bardon of Superior. We drilled, did guard duty, etc. Only a few of us are now left of the company.

THOMAS BARDON
Ashland

The following report upon your inquiry has been prepared by Miss Kellogg of the research division of the Society:

Your query interests us, and we have been going through the adjutant generals' and governors' Civil War papers in our custody to obtain information concerning frontier defense, particularly at Lake Superior points during the disturbances of 1862. The news of the Indian massacres in Minnesota reached Superior about August 25. There was much alarm for fear the Chippewa might likewise assume a hostile attitude. The citizens of Superior at once formed a committee of safety consisting of Washington Ashton, Thomas H. Hogan, and R. G. Coburn. August 31 they issued Public Order No. 1 for an organized guard to parole from nine P.M. to five A.M.; every male person from eighteen to sixty to be called on to perform service; all families to sleep between St. John and Thompson avenues, Fourth Street, and the Bay; all venders of ammunition or liquor to Indians to be summarily dealt with; neighboring towns requested to concentrate at Superior.

The panic was so great that when the steamer *Neptune* left on September 3 thirty people went away in her. More would have gone in the *Planet*, but she was delayed in arriving. There was a company called Douglas County Home Guards in Superior which had been enrolled the preceding January at the suggestion of James S. Ritchie for fear of troubles with Indians or English. The officers were Washington Ashton, captain, Daniel Waterman, first lieutenant, August Zachau, second lieutenant, who received their commissions in June.

Under the decree of the committee of safety on September 18 every able-bodied man was requested to enroll in the Douglas County Guards until relieved by United States soldiers. The committee at this date had been enlarged to six members; Thomas H. Hogan had been replaced by H. T. Holcomb; Thomas Clark, H. W. Shaw, and E. C. Clarke were the new members. Meanwhile the committee took an inventory of all the firearms in Superior and found there were sixty shotguns, rifles, and pistols, all told. At the tap of the bell all women were ordered to go to a certain warehouse on the docks; E. C. Clarke was dispatched to Madison to procure aid from the state government. The governor, meanwhile, had sent Captain Maurice M. Samuels of the First Wisconsin to visit the border communities and the Chippewa camps and report conditions to him. August 30 he was at St. Croix Falls where he met A-que-en-zee, a Chippewa chief, who wished Samuels to accompany him to Superior and then to the different payments. September 30 Samuels was at Odanah and reported that the Chippewa were peaceful. He found Home Guards being organized at all the frontier communities. Before the middle of September the governor had sent what state arms he could secure to the threatened towns. Hudson received 200 rifles; Superior's captain on September 16 gave bond for 192 rifled muskets and equipment for the Douglas County Guard. On the preceding day James S. Ritchie, draft commissioner at Superior, wrote the adjutant general that Captain Samuels' arrival, his uniform, and his arrest of whisky sellers had cleared the situation. He requested, however, a loan of cannon and advocated cutting down the forest as far as Tenth Street and building two or three blockhouses at Superior.

When E. C. Clarke reached Madison the governor was ready to listen to his pleas. He sent a special message to the legislature asking for a new militia law and an appropriation for the defense of the frontier. By personal application to the United States authorities the governor secured 2,000 stand of arms and 40,000 rounds of ammunition. Clarke went to Milwaukee to get this material shipped to Lake Superior and eventually it was sent up. October 18 Clarke gave bond for these arms and wrote that upon his return to Superior shortly before that date he found the guard kept every night and that immediate trouble with the Chippewa was feared. Meanwhile General

John Pope had been ordered to St. Paul to control the Sioux and to coöperate with the governors of Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to protect the frontier. Several regiments fitting for the front were detained; the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin was sent up the river to participate in the Sioux campaign. So pressing was the need, however, for these men at the front that Pope was constantly being urged by the War Department to release them for service. He was promised paroled prisoners to take their place. They did not however reach him until early in October when he sent two companies to Lake Superior—one to Bayfield, one to Superior. The company for Superior had come up from St. Louis to Madison towards the end of September. It was composed of Wisconsin troops that had been captured the preceding spring at the battle of Shiloh and was known as Company B of the Eighteenth Wisconsin. The governor made requisitions of warm clothing for these troops and embarked them on the steamer *Sea Bird* (probably at Milwaukee). Their officers were not Wisconsin men, but appointed from United States volunteers. The captain was John L. Dickson, first lieutenant, Samuel Drake, second lieutenant, George W. Gordon, surgeon, I. M. Winn (a Minnesota legislator). Captain E. B. Carling went with the troops to arrange for quarters, etc. It was some time in November before this company of paroled men reached Superior. The Chippewa about this time were showing signs of restlessness. Judge McCloud of Bayfield visited General Pope at St. Paul early in November to represent to him the danger. Apparently the appearance of the troops (about sixty in each company) sufficed to overawe the aborigines and keep them from an outbreak.

We have not been able to ascertain how long the paroled company remained at Superior. Nor is the list of the Douglas County Home Guards forthcoming. It may yet be found among the adjutant generals' papers, which are quite voluminous. We will keep it in mind and report to you if we find it. From Washington you can no doubt obtain information about the officers of the paroled company and the length of its stay at Superior.

The citizens of that frontier town had a long period of anxiety, which was heightened by fear of the draft. James S. Ritchie was draft commissioner, but upon news of the danger from the Indians

Governor Salomon suspended the draft for both Douglas and La Pointe counties. The prompt measures taken first by the local, then by the state, and finally by the federal authorities saved Wisconsin's frontiers from danger of such a massacre as befell those of Minnesota.

I am much pleased to receive Miss Kellogg's research of the Sioux War troubles at Superior, etc., in 1862. There is not a soul living that she mentions. I was a private in the Douglas County Guards and of course very familiar with the situation.

I wish I could get one of the old rifled muskets. Would like a copy of the governor's proclamation on the call, etc.

THOMAS BARDON
Ashland

COMMUNICATIONS

THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

I have read with very great interest in the March number of the Wisconsin Magazine of History the article on the Kensington Rune Stone. I read it and reread it in order better to understand the author's line of argument. I wonder what the next article will bring. It looks strange to think that at an age when all Sweden was Catholic, when the Popes had resided at Avignon, in France, for seventy years, that at that remote period some Swedes and Norwegians found their way to Minnesota. But the Northmen were of a roving disposition, more so than any other nation of Europe, and so it is not impossible that they found their way to America, as it is not far from Norway to Iceland and from there to Greenland.

One thing Mr. Holand seems to mistranslate—"A. V. M." If those words stand for Ave Maria they mean "Hail, Mary!" the words the angel Gabriel used in saluting the Blessed Virgin, as we read in the Bible, St. Luke, chapter II,—not "Ave Maria! Save (us) from evil!" In the Catholic Church, after saying the "Our Father," we commonly add "Hail Mary!"—a salutation to Mary. "Save us (deliver us) from evil!" are the latter words of the "Our Father," and in no connection with the words "Hail Mary." I wonder whether the initials "A. V. M.," as I think they are, really stand for "Ave Maria." May they not be the initials of the name of the man who engraved the Kensington Stone? If the man wanted to express in Latin "Save us from evil," he would have said, "Libera nos a malo," not "A. V. M."

However all this is but guesswork and I hope we will get more solid proofs for the most wonderful fact—that men of the North came to Minnesota in 1362. I am somewhat inclined to believe in the genuineness of the Kensington Stone, but still humbuggery is a very common thing in America, and as the saying goes, "The Americans like to be humbugged." Maybe in those graves at Cormorant Lake some implements, relics of ancient Scandinavians, may be found that would be the real proof of the truth of said Kensington Stone and

will convince more than any learned reasoning as to the real fact of Norwegians and Swedes having been in Minnesota five hundred and fifty-eight years ago.

FATHER CHRYSOSTOM VERWYST O. F. M.

Bayfield

BIRTHPLACE OF THE RINGLINGS

In the December issue of the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY you say—"In the September, 1919 *American Magazine* John Ringling tells the life story of the seven brothers, who were born at McGregor, Iowa, across the river from Wisconsin," etc. I venture to observe that John Ringling never said the seven brothers were born in Iowa; because they were not,—at least three of them were not. Albert, the oldest, was born in Chicago; Otto, next, the only member who never married, was born in Baraboo; and A. G., generally called Gus, in Milwaukee.

The four born at McGregor were Alfred T., the last to die, Charles E., John, and Henry. Charles and John are sole survivors of the brothers. An only sister, Ida, now Mrs. Harry North, was born at Prairie du Chien, in Wisconsin, just across the Mississippi from McGregor. She lives at Baraboo. Charles resides at Evanston, Illinois, John in New York, but both have winter homes in Florida. The parents, besides living in the various places where their eight children were born, passed short periods at Stillwater, Minnesota, and Rice Lake, Wisconsin, and possibly elsewhere. All deceased members except Alfred T. sleep with their parents in the Baraboo cemetery. Alfred T., who died last October in New Jersey, is to rest in a mausoleum at White Plains, New York. In order of age the eight children run thus: Albert, A. G., Otto, Alfred T., Charles E., John, Henry, Ida,—seven sons in succession, then a daughter.

O. D. BRANDENBURG

Madison

CAPTAIN MARRYAT'S TOUR

W. A. Titus of Fond du Lac, writing in the WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY for March, errs when he says that in 1837 "Captain Frederick Marryat, the celebrated English author, * * * made a

trip on horseback from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien." He made the trip, though not on horseback, but in wagons or on foot to Fort Winnebago with a detachment of troops, and in a keelboat down the Wisconsin. His boat, as Captain Marryat described it himself, was about one hundred twenty feet long, "covered in to the height of six feet above the gunnel, and very much in appearance like the Noah's ark given to children, excepting that the roof was flat." It was an "unwieldy craft, and to manage it, it required at least twenty-five men, with poles and long sweeps." A swift current, snags, and prostrate trees caused almost unending trouble. At nightfall the boat was tied to the shore, but the passengers never wandered far away "on account of the rattlesnakes, which here abounded," and Captain Marryat adds that "perhaps there is no portion of America in which the rattlesnakes are so large and so numerous as in Wisconsin." The boat was unmanageable, being "continually twisted and twirled about, sometimes with our bows, sometimes with our stern foremost"; and so, on the fourth day from Fort Winnebago, "after nothing but misfortunes," Captain Marryat got into a dugout with two "Menonnomie" Indians and paddled to "the landing place," got a horse, "mounted somehow, but without stirrups," and set off for Prairie du Chien, within sight of which he came after riding "about four miles."

So apparently there was no "horseback" about the whole trip,—at least Marryat himself says nothing of such means of transportation.

O. D. Brandenburg
Madison

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE

Pursuant to action taken at the last annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Dr. Joseph Schafer assumed the position of superintendent on April 1, 1920, and Dr. M. M. Quaife became editor. Dr. Schafer was born in Wisconsin and educated at the state University, where he took the degrees of B.L. in 1894 and Ph.D. in 1906. He has been professor of history in the University of Oregon since 1900. He is the author of *The Origin of the System of Land Grants in Aid of Education* (1902), the *History of the Pacific Northwest* (1905, 2d edition 1918), *The Pacific Slope and Alaska* (1905), *The Acquisition of Oregon* (1908), and *The British Attitude Toward the Oregon Question* (1911). During the war Dr. Schafer was in Washington as vice chairman of the National Board for Historical Service. Since March, 1919 he has served as chairman of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools, a body representative of the American Historical Association, the National Board for Historical Service, and the Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association. He was also joint editor with F. A. Cleveland of a volume published in 1919 called *Democracy in Reconstruction.*—F. L. P.

During the three months' period ending April 10, 1920 there were one hundred and ten additions to the membership roll of the State Historical Society. The Waukesha High School became an institutional member of the Society. Sixteen enrolled as life members, as follows: Leo T. Crowley, Madison; Ona A. Crume, Prairie du Chien; Harriet P. Humphrey, Shawano; Mrs. V. S. Keppel, Holmen; John A. Kittell, Green Bay; Peter Lamal, Ashland; J. H. G. Lieven, Hartford; Martha E. McCoy, Chicago Heights, Illinois; Frank E. Noyes, Marinette; George E. O'Connor, Eagle River; Solon Louis Perrin, Superior; H. B. Rounds, Eau Claire; G. C. Sellery, Madison; E. B. Trimpey, Baraboo; F. A. R. Van Meter, New Richmond; Robert Wild, Milwaukee.

Ninety-two annual members were added, as follows: H. W. Adams, Beloit; David W. Agnew, Waukesha; A. H. Anderson, Noonan, North Dakota; H. J. Antholz, Shiocton; Edward L. Baker, Lake Forest, Illinois; John Bartenstein, Green Bay; V. L. Beggs, Friendship; Theo Beufy, Sheboygan; Alma Bridgman, Mondovi; Louis

W. Bridgman, Madison; J. D. Brownell, Ashland; A. D. Campbell, Waukesha; T. H. Cochrane, Portage; Claude J. Colburn, Hiles; W. P. Colburn, Rhinelander; Otto B. Dahle, Mt. Horeb; G. Holmes Daubner, Waukesha; C. W. Dodge, Mondovi; Dr. Frank I. Drake, Mendota; Ethel S. Dyson, Burlington; H. F. Eames, Egg Harbor; Belle Fleek, Brodhead; Charles J. Furset, Clinton; J. H. Gaines, North Crandon; Mrs. W. A. Gillmore, Durand; Moulton B. Goff, Sturgeon Bay; O. P. Graham, Racine; Ralph Gutheil, Waukesha; A. J. Hardy, Waukesha; Wm. H. Hardy, Jr., Waukesha; Grant D. Harrington, Elkhorn; Mrs. Paul A. Hemmy, Juneau; Robert Lincoln Holt, Waukesha; Mrs. Rose Bowen Howard, Greenwood; Merlin Hull, Madison; C. E. Hulten, Washburn; Charles H. Karch, Lake Mills; Mrs. Grace W. Kinnear, Florence; Howard W. Lee, Janesville; Henry C. Leister, Sheboygan Falls; Henry Lockney, Waukesha; J. K. Lowry, Waukesha; Calvin E. McClelland, Rice Lake; L. W. McKibbin, Spring Green; Arthur A. McLeod, Madison; Mrs. Norma R. McNab, Black River Falls; Cathie C. McNamara, Washington, D. C.; S. S. McNelly, Lancaster; J. H. Martin, Racine; Earl W. Messinger, Mishicot; Dr. Forest C. Middleton, Madison; Eben R. Minahan, Green Bay; Alfred D. Mueller, Cashton; Henry Mulberger, Watertown; A. P. Nelson, Washington, D. C.; D. Newberry, New London; Warren S. O'Brien, Waukesha; J. E. Ostrum, Norwalk; Ralph A. D. Owen, Mayville; William Herbert Page, Madison; Rev. A. E. Pflaum, Chilton; O. H. Plenzke, Menasha; O. A. Reetz, Bloomer; G. B. Rhoads, Waukesha; O. S. Rice, Madison; Richard Roll, Hustisford; C. A. Rubado, Plymouth; Mary Rutherford, Cambridge; Herbert Sanderson, Sturgeon Bay; Edward G. Saunderson, Montello; Carl H. Sawyer, Waukesha; Maude Shelton, Kenosha; C. E. Shomo, Madison; C. W. Simonson, Stevens Point; C. J. Smith, Janesville; Ira E. Smith, Bradley; P. E. Stark, Madison; Miss Frank D. Stewart, Silverlake; J. C. Stubbs, Weyerhauser; John Swenehart, Bayfield; A. L. Tarrell, Platteville; E. B. Thayer, Wausau; Lyle G. Thomson, Turtle Lake; J. P. Tiffault, Marshfield; William Urban, Sheboygan; Caroline W. Voswinkel, Tomah; Edmund D. Walsh, Waukesha; Carl E. Warn, Cameron; A. E. Way, Sarona; Alexa Weber, Theresa; Eugene M. Wescott, Shawano; E. R. Williams, Oshkosh; Louis Theodore Williams, Clinton; William H. Zuehlke, Appleton; Edith A. Zufelt, Sheboygan.

Three annual members, J. W. Benn of Medford, R. J. Diekelmann of Minneapolis, and Mrs. H. P. Greeley of Madison, changed to the life membership class.

Of the one hundred and ten new members thus added to the Society, eighteen, or almost one-sixth of the total number, were secured by Mr. J. H. A. Lacher of Waukesha. For the six months'

period ending April 10, Mr. Lacher has turned in twenty-five new members in a total of one hundred and seventy-five additions to the roll during this period. His nearest competitor in this effort to build up the Society remains, as three months ago, Dr. William F. Whyte of Madison, with five memberships to his credit.

At the time of going to press the Society had three considerable forthcoming publications in the hands of the state printer. The second volume of the series on the constitution of Wisconsin has reached a point where its completion by midsummer seems fairly probable. The third volume in this series is somewhat further advanced and its delivery by the printer is confidently promised for the month of June. The *Proceedings* of the Society at the annual meeting in October, 1919 is in galley proof stage.

For a year or more Secretary M. E. McCaffrey of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin has been laboring to complete a collection of portraits of all regents in the history of the University. Pictures of all but four are now in hand. Those still lacking are Godfrey Aigner, publisher of the Milwaukee *Banner*, Wisconsin's pioneer German paper; Alexander T. Gray, secretary of state of Wisconsin in the fifties; Hiram A. Wright, lawyer and superintendent of public instruction; and Thomas W. Sutherland, first secretary of the State Historical Society. Any information which may lead to the acquisition of pictures of any of these men will be gratefully received by Mr. McCaffrey.

A visitor at the Historical Museum in early April was the Reverend Joseph Meier, M. S. C., who for the past sixteen years has been stationed in Nakanai, New Pomerania, South Sea Islands, as a missionary. The Reverend Mr. Meier is an ethnologist of wide repute and has devoted much attention to studying the language and customs of the natives of these islands. He is the author of many scholarly contributions, published in *Anthropos* and other scientific journals. He has been at Sparta for some months and is soon to leave for Germany.

Miss Eunice Anderson, state historian of Wyoming, spent a day at the Historical Library in February, intent on learning whatever might be of use in the upbuilding of the historical department of her own state, which is now in the period of its infancy.

A notable visitor to the Historical Museum on March 23 and 24 was Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, the distinguished ethnologist of Cambridge,

England. He manifested interest in the Society's archeological collections and especially in the native copper implements. While in Madison he was taken to see the Indian effigy mounds on the State Hospital grounds and in other places about the city, which he considered marvels of aboriginal earthen sculpture.

An interesting and interested visitor at the Historical Library in February was Francis Rawle of Philadelphia. Mr. Rawle's ancestors located in Pennsylvania in 1686, and from that time until the present the family has been worthily representative of the best citizenship of the Keystone State. William Rawle, grandfather of our visitor, was one of the leading lawyers of America in his day, the author among other things of *A View of the Constitution of the United States*, published at Philadelphia in 1825. Mr. Rawle is himself a distinguished lawyer, editor of Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*, former president and for many years treasurer of the American Bar Association, and an overseer of Harvard University.

Mrs. G. W. Dexheimer of Fort Atkinson, chairman of the Old Trails Committee for the state D. A. R. visited the library in March, and presented to the Society the maps and reports prepared by several local committees on the subject of Indian trails and early roads in their respective counties. These contain interesting local history on the site of Indian villages, the reminiscences of pioneers, and the early routes of travel. The reports for Brown, Columbia, Eau Claire, Jefferson, Kenosha, La Crosse, Lafayette, Milwaukee, Rock, Sheboygan, Walworth, Winnebago, and Wood counties were most complete. Mrs. Dexheimer is ambitious to secure such reports from every part of the state and to make an accurate and reliable map of the trails and travelways of the first days in Wisconsin.

Dr. N. P. Jipson of Chicago, a life member of the Society, comes frequently to the Library to continue his researches concerning the Winnebago Indians, especially the family of chiefs known as Winneshick. Dr. Jipson gives an account of the group recently organized in Chicago known as the Indian Fellowship Club, of which M. G. Chandler is the president and ruling spirit. The Club includes about twenty Indians of various tribes who are living in Chicago and from thirty-five to forty members of the white race, who are especially interested in the history and ceremonials of the native American race. The Club meets bimonthly for a camp fire, at which various rites of aboriginal America are performed. Recently the members of the Sioux tribe resident in Chicago performed a child-loving ceremony for the three year old daughter of the president, Mr. Chandler. Dr.

Jipson is interested in obtaining a vocabulary of the Winnebago, and in this effort he is being aided by a chief of that tribe from Black River Falls, who is spending the winter in Chicago.

Two guests of the Historical Society in mid-February who stand in no need of Americanization were James Wamegesako and Simon Kahquados, chiefs of the Forest County band of Potawatomi. Northeastern Wisconsin was the habitat of the Potawatomi when the first white men came into the Great Lakes region two and one-half centuries ago, and the ancestors of Wamegesako and Kahquados were no doubt members of the reception committee which welcomed Jolliet, Marquette, and other of our earliest explorers to Wisconsin. The pathway of royalty has been thorny in recent years, however, alike in the New World and in the Old, and these men, descendants of a long line of chieftains, have not escaped the common lot of the class to which they belong. Wamegesako is unable to speak English although he understands it. Kahquados is a linguist, familiar with four Indian tongues in addition to English. Although he "never saw the inside of a schoolhouse," like Abraham Lincoln, by native wit and self application he has made himself a surveyor. In the State Historical Museum are numerous interesting objects pertaining to the Wisconsin Potawatomi, which have been procured by Dr. Alphonse Gerend of Cato largely from these two men. They include a flag presented to their grandfathers by Andrew Jackson, a George III medal, and numerous items of native manufacture and significance. The two chiefs were en route to Washington to lay before the Great Father certain economic grievances to which their people are subject.

Heman H. Smith, assistant church historian of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, visited Madison in March to consult the Society's collections on Mormonism. Mr. Smith is a great-grandson of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon Church; also of Lyman Wight, one of Smith's apostles, who headed a Mormon settlement in La Crosse County for a time. From there Wight went to the Texas frontier and made himself the leader of a faction of the Saints in the endeavor to plant the headquarters of the Church in the Lone Star State. The connection of the Reorganized Church with Wisconsin has always been intimate. The church was founded chiefly by Wisconsin men, and the initial steps in this connection took place in Iowa County. The most spectacular Mormon activities in Wisconsin were those connected with the Strangite colony of Voree in eastern Walworth County; but the far-reaching consequences of the work of the little group of founders of the Reorganized

Church far outweigh all the activities of the Strangite group. The latter is now but a memory (and even this to but few people), while the Reorganized Church is a vigorous organization with upwards of 100,000 members, several thousand of whom live in Wisconsin. In contrast to the Utah branch of Mormonism and to the church in the lifetime of Prophet Smith, the Reorganized Saints have always lived on terms of harmony with their gentile neighbors. Asked the reason, in his opinion, for this contrast the present church historian stated that he supposed it to be due to their attitude with respect to land holding. The Reorganized Saints have carefully eschewed the earlier doctrine that God had given them certain lands, from which non-believers might properly be expelled by violence. We venture to add as contributory causes of the peaceful career of the Reorganized Saints their abstention from politics and from plural marriage. We think the career of Strang at Voree and (later) at Beaver Island illustrates this statement. At Voree he refrained from building up a political organization and condemned polygamy and spiritual wifery as abominations in the sight of the Lord. He likewise lived on terms of peace and harmony with the surrounding gentile community. At Beaver Island he involved himself deeply in local and state politics (he even aspired at one time to determine a presidential election) and almost from the first he both preached and practiced polygamy. Coincident with these developments was a state of warfare with the surrounding gentiles which continued practically without intermission until the "king" was assassinated and his colony razed and destroyed by a turbulent gentile mob. Gentile readers (we presume this magazine has no other) may be interested to know that the Reorganized Church has twice in civil contests won court decisions upholding its claim to be the true successor of the original Mormon Church (notably in the Independence Temple lot case, decided by Judge Philips of the United States Circuit Court), thus by clear implication branding the Utah church as an apostate body.

Plans are announced for the celebration during the summer of 1920 of the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Manitowoc. The celebration is expected to take the form of a home-coming, to be held probably in early July.

An initial meeting looking to the formation of a Wisconsin Society of Friends of Our Native Landscape was held at Madison, February 21, 1920. Mr. Jens Jenson of Chicago, famous landscape gardener, addressed the meeting on the subject of the activities of the similar Illinois society, which was organized in 1913. The object of the society is to promote the preservation in various parts of

the state, for the enjoyment and instruction of the public, of examples of the different types of native landscape that existed before the advent of the white man and which are fast vanishing before the encroachment of industry. The Illinois society has been instrumental in having set aside, by state or municipal action, typical examples of the prairies, streams, bluffs, flood plains, woodlands, and dunes. It is to be hoped that the new Wisconsin society may before many years point to a similar record of achievement.

A Sunday opening of the State Historical Museum the afternoon of March 28 attracted over five hundred visitors to view the collections and special displays on exhibition. The latter included among other things an exhibit of oils brought to Madison by the Art Association and a competitive exhibit of United States and foreign postage stamps in which about fifty boy and girl collectors from eight to twelve years of age took part. The exhibits were judged by a committee of local philatelists, and prizes of packets of stamps were awarded by Mr. Brown. This was the second philatelic exhibition for children held in recent months. Both were largely attended and productive of much interest to all concerned. Not only do the children come but they bring their parents to visit the Museum, inducing thereby a greater interest in and use of its extensive collections.

At its annual meeting, held in Milwaukee March 15, the Wisconsin Archeological Society elected Lee R. Whitney of that city as its president for the ensuing year, and Mr. Charles E. Brown of Madison, who has long been secretary of the Society was reëlected to that position. Mr. Whitney is a student of Wisconsin Indian archeology and ethnology of more than local repute. He was one of the founders of the Society and has been its treasurer for the past eighteen years. The forthcoming number of the Society's quarterly magazine will be devoted to articles designed to promote the movement for saving ancient Aztalan. Several archeological surveys are being planned for the summer and autumn of 1920.

As we go to press plans are being perfected by the Fort Atkinson chapter D. A. R. for the public dedication in June of a bronze tablet on the famous Indian intaglio effigy, located on the outskirts of the city. This peculiar Indian earthwork is the only remaining example of the intaglio type in the United States, of which eleven in all have been known formerly to exist. It was discovered by Increase A. Lapham in 1850. Some years ago, in response to the urgings of the Wisconsin Archeological Society the land was

purchased by the local chapter, and thus the permanent preservation of this unique earthwork was insured. Members of the State Historical and State Archeological societies are invited to attend the dedication. It is hoped that the gathering may be comparable in interest and pleasure with the meeting held at Aztalan last September.

The annual picnic supper and meeting of the Sauk County Historical Society was held at the home of Mrs. Frank Avery early in March. A number of historical discussions were listened to, and a number of new members voted into the Society.

The Winnebago County Archeological and Historical Society was organized at Oshkosh in December, 1919 and has affiliated with the State Historical Society. The new society has begun its career in a spirit of great enthusiasm which augurs well for a career of future usefulness. Mr. Arthur C. Kannenberg is secretary and treasurer of the society, and Mr. Clarence T. Ollen president. Monthly meetings are held. Plans are under way for commemorating with a suitable tablet the 250th anniversary of the first mass, said on the shores of Lake Winnebago by Father Allouez, the early Jesuit missionary.

The Reverend John Peterson writes as follows from Clinton, Wisconsin: "On September 21, 1919 the Jefferson Prairie Evangelical Lutheran Church celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the beginning of church work in this settlement. It was here that the first Norwegian settler in Wisconsin, Ole K. Nattestad, settled in July, 1838. A son, Mr. H. O. Natesta, is an active member of the church and has been for twenty-five years its treasurer. A grandson of the original settler, the Reverend C. O. Solberg, preached the festival sermon on the occasion of the anniversary services. The first Norwegian Lutheran church service was held here, February 4, 1844 at the house of Thore Helgesen. A daughter of his, baptized at that time, attended the anniversary services seventy-five years later."

A drive was begun in February, 1920 for $25,000 to be used in erecting at Madison a statue to Hans Heg, colonel of Wisconsin's Civil War Norwegian regiment. Colonel Heg, who is regarded as the most noted Norwegian-American soldier in the war, was mortally wounded while leading a brigade at the battle of Chickamauga, in September, 1863. A biographical sketch of his career is promised for an early issue of this magazine.

John Cohanski of Ironwood, Michigan, and Adam Blazikowski of Milwaukee were the captors of the first German soldier taken by the American army in the World War. One guess will be allowed the reader as to the racial origin of these sons of America who thus distinguished themselves in the great conflict. The long roll of deeds such as this to the credit of our soldiers of alien descent may well induce any American to think twice before casting any reflection upon the name another chances to bear. Roosevelt's definition of an American as any person who wishes to be one cannot easily be improved.

During the spring of 1920 the Madison *Wisconsin State Journal* published a series of historical articles on the several towns of Dane County. The articles were compiled by Henry E. Schuldt.

The Mauston *Chronicle* began the publication in February of the war diary of Gaylord Bradley whose life was ended by the same German shell which killed Henry Chamberlain of Mauston and Captain Arnold of Sparta. The diary was begun at Camp McArthur, January 1, 1918 and continues until the death of the writer.

The Platteville *Witness* published during the winter and spring an interesting series of articles on early Platteville, contributed by Hon. J. W. Murphy.

The suburb of Nakoma, located at the western end of the city of Madison, has begun publication of a community magazine known as the Nakoma *Tomahawk*. Nakoma occupies in part an ancient Indian village site. Its single store is known as the trading post, and all the streets, the prominent hills, and the public park bear Indian names, some of which were suggested by the State Historical Society.

The Janesville *Gazette* is celebrating its seventy-fifth year of life by publishing an extensive series of articles on the history of the vicinity and of southern Wisconsin in general. As one feature of the series, publication was begun in March of Black Hawk's autobiography. A history of the Black Hawk War, written by Orrin Guernsey of Janesville in 1855, will also be reprinted.

The story of Ansel N. Kellogg's Civil War-time device of a "patent" inside for country newspapers is told by O. D. Brandenburg in the Madison *Democrat* of March 21, 1920. Mr. Kellogg was the proprietor of the Baraboo *Republic* in 1861. Moved thereto by the scarcity of labor occasioned by the war, he devised the "patent"

which made him a millionaire and has for over half a century exerted a powerful influence upon the character of the rural press of America.

"Little Journeys in and about Baraboo," is the title of an interesting series of articles in the Baraboo *News* from the pen of Editor Cole. Mr. Cole abundantly demonstrates that even in a small mid-Western town there are charming historic and human associations in plenty for one who has the disposition to look for them.

Racine County in the World War, a 600 page volume compiled by Captain W. L. Haight, came from the press in March, 1920. This book was financed by the taking of advance orders, largely from ex-service men, and no donations or advertising were solicited or accepted; nor did any foreign commercial organization reap a handsome profit from the enterprise. The example set by Racine County in this respect might well be made the subject of general imitation over the state. We write this note without having seen a copy of the book; hence the absence of comment upon it.

We copy with pleasure from the Baraboo *News* the following item concerning a former president and present curator of this Society. Only those who, like Mr. Wight, have devoted years of patient toil to the upbuilding of a collection of books are likely fully to appreciate the worth of his gift to the University of Louvain. Most of our readers are doubtless familiar with the story connecting the lost heir of the House of Bourbon with Wisconsin's pioneer Indian missionary, Eleazer Williams. Any who are not would do well to look up Mr. Wight's masterly discussion of the subject.

"Attorney William W. Wight of Milwaukee has sent the cream of his library to Louvain in order to do what he can to assist in replacing the storehouse of learning destroyed by the ruthless Germans in 1914. For years and years Mr. Wight made a specialty of collecting books bearing on the life of Louis XVII, the Dauphin of France. He was the son of Louis XVI, king of France, and of Marie Antoinette of Austria, his queen. The child was born at Versailles, March 27, 1785, and in 1789 by the death of his elder brother became the Dauphin of France. He was a prisoner with his parents in the Temple tower and history says he died there in 1795. In later years rumors became current the Dauphin was not dead but had been spirited away. Twenty-three impostors appeared in various parts of the world, one of whom was Eleazer Williams of Green Bay, Wisconsin. The literature on the subject was so voluminous that Mr. Wight collected nearly 500 titles, not all books, but many of them interesting volumes. The library made a rich storehouse of history

and required many years to bring together, a majority of the works being in the French language.

Not long ago no less than twenty-nine nations were represented at a meeting at Paris, looking toward the restoration of the University of Louvain. The international committee named national committees, and for its share the United States proposed to undertake the erection and equipment of a new library building at an estimated cost of half a million dollars. This building and equipment will be presented free to the University of Louvain as a contribution toward the reëstablishment of this illustrious university and as a permanent memorial of the heroic services of the people in defense of human liberty.

While in Madison a few days ago Mr. Wight told the writer what he had done and explained that in each volume was an engraved inscription stating the books and articles were a gift from himself and family. The library was the result of years of effort, the finding of a rare volume, no doubt, at times making Mr. Wight happier than a king. Now, willingly and gladly, he sends his treasures across the sea to become part of a new storehouse which should never be sacrificed to the god of war, it matters not whether ruthless conquest or necessary defense send forth the conflicting armies."

In the history of Wisconsin during the century and a half prior to the beginnings of American occupation the allied tribes of the Sauk and the Fox Indians played a large rôle. Living near Tama, Iowa, in the heart of the magnificent farm lands of our greatest agricultural state are still to be found a few hundred descendants of these ancient warlike Wisconsin tribes. From the January *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* we take this account of the death, last autumn, of their chief, Push-e-ton-e-qua.

"Push-e-ton-e-qua, the last Indian chief in the United States recognized as such by the government, died at his home on the reservation near Toledo, on November 6, 1919. He was buried on a hill overlooking the Iowa River, with funeral rites due a chief. The funeral oration was delivered in the Indian language by John Jones, one of the younger men of the tribe.

"Push-e-ton-e-qua was born near Marengo—probably in 1842, the very year the Sac and Fox Indians ceded their Iowa lands to the whites. In 1847 he went to Kansas with the other members of the tribe, but returned to Iowa about 1858 with some of the homesick Indians who had determined to live in their beloved Iowa. In 1882 he became the chief of the Meskwakis and has continued in that position until his death, although his right to the office has been contested by other claimants. Push-e-ton-e-qua was acquainted with

many of the influential men of the locality and at Washington. Progressive in some things, he was yet steadfastly attached to the Indian customs, and his death removes one of the picturesque figures in the history of Iowa."

Not in many years, if indeed ever before, has there been such evidence of a widespread interest in Wisconsin in the preservation of our important historic monuments and scenic spots. The acquisition of Perrot State Park and of Martin Pattison Park, the movement for the preservation of the earthworks of ancient Aztalan, the formation of the Society of Friends of Our Native Landscape—these are some of the more conspicuous current manifestations of interest in these subjects. Our readers should be interested, therefore, in the following letter from William C. Mills, curator of the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society, upon what Ohio has been doing in recent years in the similar field of activity. Friends of the movement in this state for the preservation of our historic sites should gain encouragement from this record of achievement by our elder neighbor:

"In Ohio we have been taking care of various archeological landmarks for some years and we find that their preservation has been quite a success. The largest one is Fort Ancient. This is a park of something like 300 acres and we are keeping it in fairly fine condition. The state appropriates about $360 per year for help and about the same amount for improvements each year, so that we are able to keep the park in fair condition. The next largest is Serpent Mound Park; this is in excellent condition. The state appropriated sufficient money to complete our shelter house and museum. At this park we have put a museum in place, and the people take great interest in coming to the park to view the collections as well as to see the wonderful serpent. Logan Elm Park is another one of our interesting places. It is noted because of Logan delivering his wonderful speech at this place. It is my idea to make our parks self-sustaining, and I am satisfied that this can be done with a little effort; at least I am going to try to bring this about. We are trying at the present time to secure the second Serpent Mound, located in Warren County, and also the large mound at Miamisburg. We hope to have the Miamisburg Mound within the next few months. Several other sites are contemplated. The great earthworks at Newark are in the hands of the city and we do not feel inclined to interfere with their care, especially when we can supervise it without expense.

"I have in mind that all of these earthworks can be cared for without expense to the state if the park is made sufficiently large to enable the caretaker to pay for the privilege of living there and the

rent will pay for the care of the property. Up to the present time we have not attempted this but I believe that a change will now come. I may say that no other member of the committee agrees with me as to the possibility of making it self-sustaining but I know that it can be done.

"We have a number of historical places, also, in the state, such as Big Bottom Park where the great massacre took place, Campus Martius (Marietta), old Fort Laurens (Tuscarawas County), the estate of the late President Hayes, the battle ground of Fallen Timbers, and we also have several other places in view which we hope to secure."

PHOTOGRAPHING WISCONSIN'S EFFIGY MOUNDS

Wisconsin was a favorite haunt of the builders of effigy mounds, the southern portion of the state containing numerous examples of these curious products of the brain and hand of primitive man. For many years students of our native archeology have wished for photographic reproductions of these remarkable earthworks, but until recently no attempt to photograph them has met with much success. The mounds are commonly of large dimensions, their elevation is slight, and the presence of trees frequently adds to the photographer's difficulties. A Wisconsin boy, George R. Fox, has at length brilliantly solved the problem of photographing these mounds.

Mr. Fox was originally an employee of the postoffice at Appleton. There he became interested in Indian archeology and began his studies with an investigation of the Indian remains of that vicinity. He soon gave indication of the possession of marked abilities in the field of his new studies. He joined the Wisconsin Archeological Society and working under the direction of Mr. Brown, chiefly in vacation time, conducted archeological surveys in a number of Wisconsin counties. The results of these investigations are recorded in the issues of the *Wisconsin Archeologist* from 1911 onward. Several years ago Mr. Fox resigned his position in the postoffice and after a brief course of instruction entered the field of museum work, being chosen curator of the museum of the Nebraska Historical Society. His work here attracted the attention of Edward K. Warren of Three Oaks, Michigan, founder of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum at that place. Mr. Fox was chosen curator of this museum and later was made director of the Warren Foundation, which includes, in addition to the museum, extensive preserves of forest and lake shore dune lands.

While living in Wisconsin Mr. Fox experimented with photographing some of the effigy mounds of the state, taking pictures of several on the northeast shore of Lake Winnebago. Last spring he

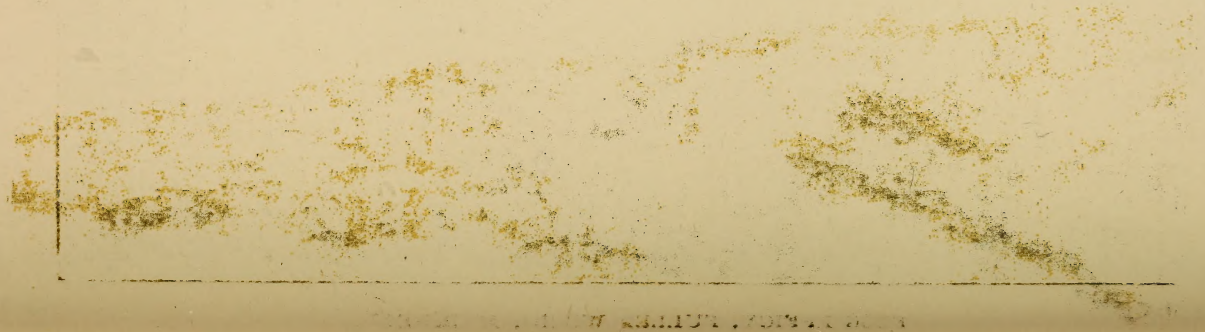
returned to Wisconsin to resume this work, taking photographs of typical effigy mounds near Beloit, Lake Koshkonong, Fort Atkinson, Lake Waubesa, Madison, Baraboo, and other points. The one we reproduce, of the Frog effigy in Fuller Woods, Madison, affords a good idea of the measure of success achieved by Mr. Fox. His photographs are the first really successful pictures which have ever been made of these aboriginal monuments. They were taken from the tops and limbs of trees, the mounds being first outlined with powdered lime applied with a large brush. The camera and lens used are especially adapted for this work. The Wisconsin Archeological Society hopes finally to publish many of the photographs taken by Mr. Fox.

THE GEORGE B. BURROWS BEQUEST

Members and friends of the Historical Society have heard from time to time of the bequest made to it some years ago by Senator George B. Burrows. Mr. Burrows was long a curator of the Society and manifested a deep interest in its welfare. At his death he left one son, George T. Burrows, who later married and in October, 1916 died, leaving a widow but no children.

Senator Burrows made various bequests to relatives and an important one to the city of Madison. The will then provided that the son should receive an annuity and in the event of marriage he and his wife should receive a $2,000 annuity. If he should die leaving a widow she should continue to receive $2,000 a year until death or remarriage. In the event of the birth of children who should survive their father the entire residue of the estate was to go to them. If no surviving children were left, the residue of the estate was to go to the Historical Society. Trustees were appointed to carry out the objects of the will.

After the death of George T. Burrows without issue in 1916 the Society was advised by Mr. W. A. P. Morris, its veteran legal adviser, that the estate vested in it, and Messrs. Jones and Schubring were employed to have the question determined by the court. The surviving trustee made no contention that the trust should be continued for his own benefit but the question before the court was whether the trustee should continue to act until the death or remarriage of the widow. The Society claimed that the estate vested *in possession* upon the occurrence of the event which had happened. The trustee claimed that it only vested *in interest* and that the will required him to execute the trust until the death or remarriage of the widow. The Society held that it ought not to be deprived of the use of the property for an indefinite time, and that the estate ought not to be subjected



to the expense of administration by a trustee when nothing remained to do but take care of it and pay the annuity of $2,000.

The case was tried first in the autumn of 1919 before Judge Wickham in the Dane County Circuit Court, who held that it was not the intent of the testator that the trust should terminate before the death or remarriage of the widow. The Society thereupon appealed the case to the state Supreme Court, which early in April gave its decision reversing the judgment of the lower court and holding that the estate vested in the Society *in possession* upon the death of George T. Burrows without issue.

The practical consequences to the Society of this decision are of great importance. The value of the estate at the time of the trial was found by the court to be $381,000. It consists of lands in northern Wisconsin valued by the trustee at $160,000, and of personal property amounting to $221,000, all of which will shortly come under the control of the Society, subject, of course, to the continuance of the $2,000 annuity to Mrs. Burrows. The cost to the Society of administering the estate will be much less than the cost of administration by the trustee. It will thus be saved a very material annual expense for an indefinite term of years. Of greater importance, perhaps, is the fact that the income of the estate now becomes available for the historical uses for which the testator gave it, instead of being indefinitely tied up awaiting the termination of the trusteeship. In its seventy years of life hitherto the Society has accumulated private funds to the amount of about $125,000. The receipt of the Burrows estate quadruples this amount at a single stroke, bringing the total to approximately half a million dollars.

THE FRANK A. HASKELL PAPERS

Among the papers recently received at the Library is a collection of material made by the Wisconsin History Commission. In addition to an extensive correspondence by Charles E. Estabrook concerning the Forty-third Wisconsin Regiment, with reports, memoranda, and historical sketches of the Sixth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-eighth regiments, it contains the letters of Frank Aretas Haskell, author of the brilliant story of the battle of Gettysburg.

These letters form an important addition to the Society's collection of manuscript material on the Civil War, especially to that relating to the work of the Iron Brigade.

Frank Aretas Haskell was commissioned first lieutenant of Company I of the Sixth Wisconsin Infantry June 20, 1861, and served as adjutant of his regiment until April 14, 1862, when he was made aide-de-camp to Gen. John Gibbon, commander of the Iron Brigade. He served in this capacity until February, 1864, when he was pro-

moted to the colonelcy of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin, which he commanded until his death at Cold Harbor June 3, 1864. He was with the Iron Brigade in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, at the battles of Gainesville, Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Sharpsburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg.

His letters, written from the field to his brother at Portage, cover the period of his entire participation in the war. They are filled with the spirit of genuine courage and unselfish devotion to the cause for which the Union was fighting, and breathe a contempt for all that savors of cowardice or place seeking. In a series of rapid sketches, written often just after the heat of action, he describes the several campaigns, the successes and reverses of the Union troops, particularly describing the part taken by Wisconsin soldiers, as for instance when his regiment marched into the heat of action "without dodging or ducking and learned later that respectful obeisance to a cannon-ball is no indication of cowardice."

Lieutenant Haskell attributed the first defeat of Bull Run to McDowell's incapacity, the second to McDowell's and Pope's together. "They both," he wrote, "enjoyed the cordial hatred of all their men and deserved it." McClellan, "the only man fit for the place," succeeded Pope, and according to the writer's opinion, "a general now leads the army."

In a letter written September 22, 1862 Lieutenant Haskell reviews the year just passed, in a tent on the banks of the Potomac; he notes the soldier's suffering, his cheerfulness and hope. Graphically he pictures the army spread over a hundred hills showing by night the gleam of its camp fires. He also tells of the deep disappointment of his division at being left behind by General McClellan, the "idol of the army," when he set out for the Peninsular Campaign. Concerning the action at Sharpsburg he wrote that Gainesville, Bull Run, and South Mountain were but skirmishes compared with it—"a great enormous battle, great tumbling together of all heaven and earth." Awed by what he had just passed through, he describes the closing scenes of this battle—the thinned ranks, the faces of the men, in which you saw only the shadows of the "light of battle," the furrows ploughed on cheeks, smooth the day before, and narrates the uprising in his heart of the deep affection that drew him to them.

His description of the effects of war upon one of the loveliest valleys human eyes ever saw, with farms and homes, hill and dale, now desolate, remind us of recent conditions in Belgium and France. "Those who are responsible," he wrote, "must pay the penalty, must be taught how sacred a thing is the Constitution, how terrible the wrath of the offended Republic."

As the spring of 1863 came on, Haskell, in common with all the Northern army, looked forward to a great battle to be crowned with decisive victory. He had not long to wait. The second battle of Fredericksburg came in May, and Gettysburg in July. In the first instance, notwithstanding General Gibbon's success in taking the town, Fredericksburg was lost to the enemy by the sudden arrival of Longstreet. Bitterly Lieutenant Haskell complained of this misfortune. General Hooker received his scathing criticism. "Why did he recross the Rappahannock?" was the query running through the army. Hooker's insincere congratulations to the army upon its success in the late operations caused him to wonder whether war is not after all a farce and all the sacrifice of brave men merely a delusion to feed the vanity of the generals, and to prove who had committed the most blunders.

But the battle of Gettysburg gave Haskell and other true soldiers their great opportunity; in that victory the mistakes and disappointments of the past were largely forgotten. Soon after its close he wrote, "I am full of it, was in it, saw it, and felt the sacred rage of battle as never before." At Gettysburg Haskell was compelled to take the place of General Gibbon, after he was wounded. In this command he showed all the qualities of a good general and his action won merited praise. This opportunity was the climax of Colonel Haskell's career. "Rather one great hour of Gettysburg," he wrote, "than the long period of inactivity that followed."

When, November 19, 1863, the field of Gettysburg was consecrated, Haskell and Gibbon represented the Army of the Potomac. In the letter that follows, the former describes minutely the flag of the Iron Brigade and deplores the fact that the bones of those who fell on the field might not lie where they fell—in consecrated ground; but he makes no mention of the speeches of Everett and Lincoln that have made the day historic. This is eloquent of the fact that to men who participated in that battle no words could convey its meaning. As he had written before: "Pen and canvas are poor for that great epic."

In January, 1864 Haskell's brother wrote that if he desired promotion he must come home at once. He replied that whatever reputation he had gained had come not from being away from the field of duty, but by being always in his place; that to seek office for himself, to importune, to urge his claims was a thing so uncongenial to his sense of propriety and so repugnant to all his instincts that nothing would ever induce him to stoop to it. Because of such a spirit rather than in despite of it, he was the following month chosen colonel of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Regiment and was

on the eve of an appointment as brigadier-general when he was killed in battle.

The literary quality of many of these letters is exceedingly fine. Charming descriptions of the quiet of a summer night, with the army asleep on the eve of a great battle, are followed by others full of the intensity and tumult of battle itself. His keen human sympathy, his grief at the loss of a favorite horse shot under him, his indignation at unjust criticism or commendation, his scorn for self-seeking, his loyalty and admiration for his commander in chief, and his affection for his beloved General Gibbon,—all these enable the reader to share the writer's experiences and affect him with the vivid emotions of a great story.

KATE E. LEVI

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Louise P. Kellogg ("The Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848") is senior research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Rasmus B. Anderson ("Another View of the Kensington Rune Stone") of Madison is the veteran editor of *Amerika* and a widely-known scholar in the field of Scandinavian literature and history.

David F. Sayre ("Early Life in Southern Wisconsin") came to Rock County in 1849, where he continued to reside for seventy years until his death at an advanced age a few months ago. The present article has been adapted by the editor from two addresses delivered by Mr. Sayre before the Janesville Woman's Club in October, 1905 and October, 1908.

W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin: III Taycheedah, A Memory of the Past") presents in this issue the third in his series of articles under the general title noted. Mr. Titus is a resident of Fond du Lac who makes a hobby of archeology and local history.

Franklin F. Lewis ("The Career of Edward F. Lewis") is a native of Wisconsin who has been for over thirty years a resident of Janesville. Another article by Mr. Lewis is promised for a future issue of the magazine.

SOME WISCONSIN PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Wisconsin Free Library Commission in leaflet number eight of its traveling library department announces as its basic purpose

that no person in all the state, whether old or young, in cities or towns, or in the most remote rural community, shall be without books for education, inspiration, and recreation. The need for these is supplied by public libraries in the larger centers, by books by parcel post for individuals in remote regions, and by traveling libraries for small communities. A traveling library consists of fifty books—fifteen for children, fifteen nonfiction, twenty adult fiction; it may be obtained by any responsible person in a community who will agree to certain conditions. There are also libraries for special groups, for Boy Scouts, students of home economics, foreign language users, and people interested in agriculture, etc. Wisconsin's traveling library system has been the prototype for those in other states; its usefulness in our own state continues unimpaired.

The State Department of Public Instruction fosters reading circles through the State Teachers' Association, whose annual for 1919-20 shows that the young people's reading circle has an increased membership, numbering in all 61,645, of which 51,187 are county members. Upon finishing the reading arranged by the circles, diplomas are issued by county and city superintendents. Circles for teachers, with lists of professional books, have been organized with a membership of 3,528. Last year a school patrons' circle was begun with books on social and educational welfare as the prescribed reading. By these means the Department of Public Instruction is coöperating with the Library Commission in fostering the desire for more and better books.

A new hope for education is expressed in strong and vital language by the pamphlet issued by the University Extension Division entitled *Your Home Town: An Idea and a Plan.* The danger of ignorance has been revealed during the years of the war as never before. The casualty lists of preventible disease, incompetence through disabilities, the promotion of poverty and crime by ignorance have startled the world. The amount of illiteracy within our own borders was revealed by the draft and shows as a menace when over five million Americans cannot read or write English. Wisconsin bears the responsibility for about sixty thousand of these illiterates. From a population of two and a half millions only 21, 214 graduated in 1916 from all the schools. University extension is organized to aid communities to raise their standards of education. Let the protective impulse of the mothers devote as much time and effort to the little boys and girls at home as was freely poured forth for the grown-up boys in service during the war; let the fathers give as freely to educate and prepare for the battle of life as they did for arming and maintaining our soldier boys, and more American lives will be saved in a year than the entire war cost. Now that the barrage of

war is lifted, let us break down the barricades of ignorance and unconcern. Each community should organize for this service; councils should be appointed. The University will send its representatives to visit and to advise. The newly awakened consciousness of the nation and of each community must be taken advantage of for a forward movement in universal education.

A pamphlet issued in January by the State Board of Education is entitled *Education as War's Reward: A Wisconsin Contribution.* The first portion offers congratulations to the Supreme Court upon its clear and prompt decision in the educational bonus case. Judge Vinje in announcing a favorable decision writes of the act: "Its purpose was to show by material means * * * the deep gratitude of the state to those who so signally and heroically performed the task that called them into action * * * to demonstrate that such defense is appreciated—that republics are not ungrateful." He continues as follows: "A free government's best guaranty of continuity and security lies in the enlightenment of its people." Thus the stimulation of both patriotism and enlightenment "becomes not only a public purpose but a public necessity." The educational bonus act was an unexpected by-product of the war; it grew out of the desires of the service men themselves. Questionnaires answered by twenty thousand Wisconsin men showed that over ten thousand wanted an educational opportunity. Since the act went into effect, on January 26, 1920, 4,282 were receiving instruction in various institutions both within and without the state. The private colleges have seen the opportunity and have offered their coöperation. Larger numbers will take advantage of the chance when more time allows adjustment to the opportunity. Bonus students may enter schools at any time prior to July 1, 1924. One of the first to take advantage of the act was a private of Russian birth who at thirty-one years of age entered the high school of the State University to prepare for a college course. A sergeant wounded at Chateau-Thierry entered Beloit College in the fall. At the University there were in January 1,829 bonus students.

In coöperation with the extension agency the state board of vocational education issues a monograph on *Citizenship.* This is a tentative outline intended for experimentation to correct the desultory manner in which civics is taught in our schools. A concrete course for three years is worked out, which uses history as a background and gives a broad outlook by a wide survey of the progress of civilization. The first year should be devoted to the contributions to civilization of the prehistoric and classic people, those of the Middle Ages, and those involved in the development of nationality, in the industrial and political revolutions. The immigrants from Greece, Italy, and other

European countries should be encouraged to present the contributions made by their countries to the progress of civilization and to discuss present-day aspirations and needs of their home countries. They will thus be the better prepared to appreciate the growth of their adopted country. The second year should be given to a review of United States history, of the industrial and political development of recent years. The third year should be devoted to the practical problems involved in governmental regulation, the forms of government, administrative machinery, and the reconstruction problems we now are facing.

For the information of the public, the State Board of Control has issued the facts and decisions on *State Aid to Dependent Children,* usually known as the mother's pension law. The administration of this aid is vested in the judges of the counties, or, where they exist, in the juvenile courts. In several instances a board of child-welfare has been appointed to aid the judge in his administration. The state distributes $30,000 pro rata to the local units; this reimbursed the counties last year seven and a half per cent of their expenditure, which in 1919 was $406,302.09. The aid was extended to 2,386 families of 7,288 children. In sixty-nine per cent of the cases the mother was a widow; in eight per cent the father was permanently disabled. The purpose of the law is to take children out of the pauper class and to obtain for them a normal home life and a mother's care. The decisions of the attorney-general have interpreted the law on a broad and humanitarian basis, so that its beneficence may work in the largest number of desirable cases.

Wisconsin has come back as a wheat growing state. Before and during the Civil War wheat was king in Wisconsin. Its production began to decline about 1870, and not until the food demands of the late war grew insistent did Wisconsin farmers consider wheat as other than a side issue. In view of the new demands E. J. Delwiche and B. D. Leith of the Agricultural Experiment Station issue *Bulletin* 305, full of practical and valuable suggestions to wheat growers. This crop, the authors assert, is not hard on the soils if grown with proper rotation. It thrives better on heavy than on light soils, is best adapted to the two southern tiers of Wisconsin counties, to the region around Lake Winnebago, along Fox River and the Lake Michigan shore, to parts of Barron, Polk, and St. Croix counties, and the red clays of Douglas, Bayfield, Ashland, and Iron counties. Winter wheat is to be preferred for Wisconsin, the danger of winter killing to be obviated by pedigreed seeds of resisting quality. Practical hints on preparing the soil, on the diseases of wheat with their remedies, and on types of rotation are included in this pamphlet.

The seventh annual report of the Citizens' Committee on Unemployment and the Public Employment Bureau of Milwaukee, issued by the Industrial Commission, brings its data to the end of June, 1919 and shows how the demobilization of industry proceeded after the armistice and how soldiers and sailors were reabsorbed into the industrial life. The state officials acted in concert with the federal employment service; the federal government paid the salaries, while the local government furnished office expenses. The bureau comprised women's, railroad, juvenile, soldiers' and sailors', skilled help, and handicap divisions. Unemployment did not at any time become serious, nor were women thrown out in large numbers upon the labor market. The demand for farm labor was greater than the supply. The following are the statistics: Applications for work, 86,855; applications for workers, 99,392; referred to places, 84,628; placed, 58,878.

The State Division of Markets, whose director is Edward Nordman, issued January 15, 1920 *Bulletin* No. 2, to explain the purpose of the law creating this division and to familiarize the people with its working plans. The division was organized in 1919 with the following broad powers: First, to promote economical and efficient distribution of farm products including public markets. Second, to locate farm products and furnish information on the location of markets. Third, to coöperate with producers, distributors, and consumers in devising economical and efficient systems of marketing, grading, standardizing, and storing farm products. Fourth, to aid in determining proper shipping routes. Fifth, to aid in reducing expenses and waste in marketing farm products. The law also provides that the methods of the director shall be fair, just, and reasonable; he is given power to investigate unreasonable practices and to fix reasonable rules for the protection of both the producers and the consumers. The methods proposed are as follows: a market news service not to duplicate the federal service but to supplement it for specific Wisconsin products; coöperation with federal and state departments already organized in collecting information, formulating grades and standards, inspection service, and in the formation of coöperative buying and selling associations. The division also proposes investigational work into the entire procedure of marketing, the various elements that make up the consumer's price, etc. The director warns the public not to expect that the activities of the marketing division will be a cure for the evils justly complained of; it will, however, be prepared to examine fundamental causes of injustice and to discuss these in the press and from the public platform in so far as they relate to a single state.

THE WIDER FIELD

THE CHARLES L. GUNTHER COLLECTION

Members of the Wisconsin Historical Society will be interested to learn of a notable piece of good fortune which has befallen one of our oldest mid-western contemporaries, the Chicago Historical Society. In all its years of useful service it is probably safe to say it has been the recipient of no other collection even remotely approximating in importance the one built up by the late Charles L. Gunther, which through the public-spirited generosity of a number of leading citizens of Chicago has recently come to the society.

To paraphrase the poet, "man moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Mr. Gunther was a plain, unassuming man, of ordinary education, as unpromising a worker in the historical field, apparently, as one could have found in a long day's search. He possessed, however, a genius for making and marketing candy, and for this service the world rewarded him liberally. The money which poured in upon him it was his delight to spend in the acquisition of historical objects. Through fifty years of such effort he built up a collection whose variety is no less amazing than its bulk is impressive. On the latter point it is sufficient to say that over seventy truck loads were required to transport it boxed from the warehouse to Mr. Gunther's building. As to variety, it may be noted that the writer, after spending four days surveying the collection, came away feeling that he had not gained as yet a bird's eye view of it. There are seemingly thousands of prints and other thousands of autographs and other manuscripts. While chiefly devoted to Americana there are many items of European origin and some even from other continents. One might write almost endlessly concerning individual items in the collection, but we content ourselves with mentioning a few of the more interesting specimens. Even such mention will suggest to some extent the widespread net which Mr. Gunther set for historical treasures. The Father of his Country is represented by a duplicate copy of the famous will, authenticated by the signature of Washington on each page; of equal interest to many is the seal with which he closed his letters. The first patent ever issued in America; the farewell order of General Lee to his army; the letter of Grant to Pemberton proposing terms for the surrender of Vicksburg; the manuscript copy of the negotiations of the treaty of Greenville; the document transferring Louisiana from Spain to France, and the similar one transferring it from France to the United States; the pass given by Benedict Arnold to Major Andre when he was seeking to betray West Point to the British, together with its sad sequel, the report of the board of officers to Washington rec-

ommending that Major Andre be put to death—all these and hundreds of other papers rouse the envy of the collector. Of museum objects we note the table on which Grant drafted the terms of surrender at Appomattox; the bed on which Lincoln died, and the coach in which he was wont to take the air; the compass used by Washington, his camp dishes, and some of his Mount Vernon pewter; the compass used in laying out the streets of down-town Chicago. Mr. Gunther was not particularly noted as a collector of books, yet he succeeded in acquiring some surprisingly interesting volumes. In his collection may be seen Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*, wherein the name America was first proposed for the New World. Probably the oldest existing specimen of an American book may be seen here, followed by many others dating from the sixteenth century. Some of our readers may learn with surprise that these books were being printed in the city of Mexico half a century before John Smith came to Jamestown, and full seventy-five years before the Pilgrims cast anchor in Plymouth harbor. The acquisition of this collection by the Chicago Historical Society can hardly fail to promote the historical interests of the entire West.

Two leading articles are found in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Cyril B. Upham presents a "Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1865-1898"; while Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the State Agricultural College discusses "The Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860."

To the famous Rainbow Division of the American army in the World War Wisconsin contributed three companies. Friends and relatives of these men will be interested to know that *The Story of the Rainbow Division*, by Raymond S. Tompkins, has now been published.

The first issue of *The Canadian Historical Review* made its appearance in March, 1920. The *Review* is an outgrowth of *The Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, an annual survey of Canadian historical literature which has been in existence nearly a quarter of a century. The new quarterly devotes large attention to the review of current publications relating to Canadian history. In addition the first issue contains two important original historical articles and two source documents. We greet with pleasure this new publication which gives promise of adequately supplying for Canadian history the rôle long performed for the historical interests of our own country by the *American Historical Review*.

Major Robert Rogers, commandant at Michilimackinac in 1766-67, was one of the most picturesque characters in American colonial history. His valuable journal, kept during this period, has been for some time the property of the American Antiquarian Society. The journal has now been published in the *Transactions* of the Society for October, 1918. It constitutes a valuable source for the Indian life of the Northwest a century and a half ago.

"Fort Atkinson, A Pigsty" in the *Iowa Magazine* for September, 1919 deals not with the beautiful Wisconsin city made famous by Governor Hoard and Milo Jones, but with the site of the Iowa fort of three generations ago some sixty miles or so west of Prairie du Chien. The history of the Iowa Fort Atkinson (succeeded, as in Wisconsin, by a town of the same name) is intimately connected with the history of Fort Crawford and the Indian régime in Wisconsin. The author of the article presents a brief history of the fort, with illustrations of its buildings as they appear at the present time.

"Ice-cream, Ice-cream Parlors, and Confectionery in Three Oaks," is the suggestive heading of an interesting paper in the Three Oaks (Michigan) *Acorn* for February 26, 1920. Among other things we learn that there is no direct mention of sugar in the Bible, although Jeremiah speaks of a "sweet cane from a far country." By the time of Alexander (330 A. D.) sugar was well known in the Orient, but not until the return of the Crusaders from the East was a knowledge of it spread abroad in western Europe. Candy as we know it today dates from about the beginning of the nineteenth century—a development of the practice of eighteenth century physicians of tempering their nauseous doses by enclosing them in a sweet covering. Candy-making was well developed in our eastern cities by 1816, although no machinery was used in its manufacture prior to 1845. At that time the first revolving steam-pan was perfected since which mechanical processes have so gained upon hand work that today the entire process, even to packing the boxes, is performed by machinery. The article concludes with a history of the candy and confectionery trade in the town of Three Oaks from the early day to the present time.

STATEMENT

of THE WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, published quarterly at Menasha, Wis., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

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None.

George Banta, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of March, 1920.

[SEAL] Gertrude W. Sawyer,
Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 16, 1924.)

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